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THE PHILIPPIC ORATIONS
OF
M. TULLIUS CICERO

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THE
FOURTEEN
PHILIPPIC ORATIONS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

*A NEW TRANSLATION
MAINLY FROM THE TEXT OF HALM*

BY
JOHN R. KING, M.A.
FELLOW AND TUTOR OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD

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INTRODUCTION

TO

THE FIRST ORATION.

AFTER the assassination of Julius Cæsar, on the Ides of March, 44 B.C., Marcus Antonius, his colleague in the consulship, at first made overtures of friendship to the conspirators, and it was agreed on the one hand that no notice should be taken of his death; on the other, that all his measures should be ratified. On the day of his funeral, however, Antonius excited the people against the assassins, by dwelling in his funeral oration on the prowess of Cæsar and his generosity towards his fellow-citizens; and popular indignation rose to such a pitch, that the chief conspirators were obliged to flee from Rome.

Antonius, being left master of the position, was at first very moderate in his policy; but gradually he developed plans of avarice and self-aggrandisement, which he promoted to a great extent by forgeries, professing to emanate from Cæsar's papers; while he secured his personal safety by establishing a body-guard, and won the favour of the veterans by a new assignment of lands.

The first serious check to his schemes was given by Gaius Octavius, the future emperor Augustus, the great-nephew and adopted son of Julius Cæsar.

On hearing of the dictator's death, he hastened to Italy, and at Brundisium was warmly welcomed by the veterans, to whom he announced himself as Gaius Julius Cæsar Octavianus, thus claiming his adoption by his uncle. After a favourable interview with Cicero, who had left the city shortly after the conspirators, he went to Rome about the beginning of May, and there ingratiated himself with the leading senators, as the direct opponent of Antonius.

By this time Decimus Brutus had retired to his province of Cisalpine Gaul, Trebonius and Cimber to Asia and Bithynia. Marcus Brutus and Cassius were still in Italy, having been deprived of their provinces by Antonius. Cicero, feeling that little could be done till new consuls should enter on office, determined to go to Greece, and actually set sail from Lencopetra. Driven back by stress of weather, and hearing that things were looking brighter at home, he changed his plans, and went back to Rome on August 31. He found that Antonius had summoned a meeting of the senate for September 1, but wishing to watch the course of events, he pleaded indisposition as an excuse for not attending. Antonius took the opportunity of delivering a violent harangue against him, which Cicero, in the consul's absence, answered at another meeting of the senate on the following day. In it his tone is studiously moderate, as though he felt that there was still a possibility of peace; and his criticism is directed rather against the consul's public policy than against his private character.

The speech is the first of a long series directed against Antonius, of which fourteen are extant. Of these, eleven were delivered in the senate, two—the fourth and sixth—at public meetings in the Forum, while the second, the most famous of them all, was never delivered, but published as a pamphlet in the latter part of 44 B.C. The name of *Philippics*, which has been given to these orations, from their supposed resemblance to those of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon, is at least as old as the time of Juvenal. The series not only contains some of Cicero's finest speeches, but has a further interest as showing Cicero's position in the state at the most influential and most honourable period of his life, and as giving us contemporary evidence about a very important crisis in the commonwealth.

M. TULLIUS CICERO'S

FOURTEEN PHILIPPIC ORATIONS.

THE FIRST ORATION.

1. BEFORE entering, my lords, upon the topics which at the present moment seem to need discussion, I will briefly explain the causes of my leaving Italy, and of my premature return. So long as I could hope that the republic had at length returned to its allegiance and admitted your authority, I resolved that I was bound to remain at home on guard as consular¹ and senator. Nor, indeed, did I either leave the city, or cease to keep a watchful eye upon the state, from the day on which we were convened in the temple of Tellus. In that temple, to the best of my powers, I laid the foundations of peace, and followed the example set by the Athenians of old. I even employed a Greek word, which had been used at Athens in softening down the asperities of civil war; and, under the name of 'amnesty,' proposed that all recollection of our quarrels should be blotted out for ever in oblivion. On that occasion, if the speech of Antonius was noble, his reso-

¹ The word 'consularis,' meaning 'one who had held the office of consul,' has no equivalent in English, and being a term of frequent occurrence, it is thought better to retain it as a technical expression.

lution was superb; it was, in short, through him and his son that peace was established with our most distinguished citizens. And with this beginning all that followed for a time agreed. He invited the leading men in Rome to discussions at his house about the welfare of the state; the reports which he made to the senate were beyond praise; nothing was then found in the papers of Cæsar except what was generally known to be contained in them. He answered any questions which were put to him with unvarying consistency. Are any exiles recalled? 'One,' he said, 'and only one.' Are any exemptions from taxation granted? 'No,' he answered, 'none.' He even wished us to vote for the motion of Servius Sulpicius, my most honourable friend, that from and after the Ides of March no publication should be made of any decree or grant as issuing from Cæsar. I pass over much that calls for praise, and hasten as my speech prompts me to the crowning act of Antonius. The dictatorship, which had already usurped the unconstitutional power of a monarchy, he abolished utterly as an office in the state. To this proposal we agreed without debate. He had brought with him a form of decree to express his wishes, and on hearing what he had written we supported him with the greatest enthusiasm, and passed a formal vote of thanks to him in most flattering terms.

2. A ray of light appeared to be shed over us when we were freed not only from the despotism which we had actually endured, but from any fear of its recurrence in the future; and he gave no slight pledge to the state of his desire that its constitution should be free, when he utterly abolished the title of dictator, which had often been held under constitutional limitations, because of its recent association with a perpetual dictatorship. A few days later the senate was delivered from the danger of a massacre, and the fugitive slave was executed who had usurped the name of Gaius Marius. All this was done in concert with his colleague; for other things which followed, Dolabella was alone responsible, though I believe that had Antonius


not been absent from Rome he would have joined in carrying them out.

For when Dolabella saw that an evil of indefinite proportions was stealing into the state, and spreading further every day, and that a monument was erected in the Forum by the very men who had solemnised that funeral so unworthy of the name, and that the temples and houses of our citizens were daily being threatened by scoundrels with slaves no better than themselves, then he made such an example both of the wicked and audacious slaves, and even more especially of their profligate and unscrupulous masters, that it seems to me a marvel that the period which followed differed so entirely from that single day. For on June 1, when they had summoned us to meet, a change came over everything. Nothing was done through the agency of the senate; many important measures were carried with the sanction of the people, in that people's absence and against their will. The consuls-elect said they dared not come into the senate. The saviours of their country were exiles from the city, from whose neck they had cast off the yoke of slavery, though all the time the consuls themselves, both at public meetings and in private conversation, were always speaking of them in the highest terms. Those who claimed the name of veterans, whose interests this House had guarded with most jealous care, were excited not to protect what they already possessed, but to entertain hopes of new spoil. And as I preferred hearing of these things to seeing them with my own eyes, and as I was at liberty to use a commission which I held as *legatus*,¹ I left Rome with the intention of being at home again on January 1, which seemed likely to be the earliest day on which a meeting of the senate would be held.

These, my lords, were the reasons why I went abroad. I will now tell you very shortly why I turned back, for that was more remarkable. Having avoided,

3.

¹ *Legatus*, an officer in the suite of a consul or governor of a province, who was at once his confidential adviser and his substitute in case of absence.



on sufficient grounds, the ordinary route from Brundisium, I came on August 1 to Syracuse, having heard a good account of the passage from that city into Greece. It is a city which is bound to me by the closest ties of friendship, but in spite of its eager invitation I could not be induced to remain there for longer than a single night. I was indeed afraid that my sudden visit to my friends might breed suspicion, if I stayed with them. But having been carried by the wind from Sicily to Leucopetra, a promontory in the district of Rhegium, I there embarked to cross into Greece; and before I had gone very far I was driven back by the south wind to my port of embarkation. This was in the middle of the night; the remainder of which I passed at the house of my friend and ally, Publius Valerius; and as I was waiting with him on the following day for a favourable wind, several citizens of Rhegium came to see me, some of them just arrived from Rome. From them I first heard of Antonius' harangue, with which I was so much pleased, that its perusal first made me think of abandoning my journey. Not long after, we received the edict of Brutus and Cassius, which to me indeed, perhaps because I esteem them even more as citizens than as private friends, appeared instinct with equity. The messengers added further, as we often find that men who wish to bring good tidings exaggerate a little in order to increase the gladness of their news, that an arrangement would be made; that on the 1st there would be a full meeting of the senate; that Antonius, discarding his evil advisers, and giving up the provinces of Gaul, would once more recognise the authority of this House.

4.

Then, indeed, my eagerness to come back was so inflamed that neither oars nor sails were fast enough for my impatience; not that I had any fears of being too late, but not to be longer than I wished to be in congratulating the state. At Velia, after a quick passage, I saw Brutus; nor will I say how much the meeting grieved me. I even thought it a shame that I should venture to return to a city from which Brutus had

retired, and that I should wish to live in safety where this was impossible for him. I did not, however, find that he was so much disturbed as myself; and, sustained by the consciousness of the great and noble deed which he had done, he said nothing about himself, whilst loudly lamenting your position. From him I first learnt the nature of Lucius Piso's speech in this House on August 1. He was very insufficiently supported, so Brutus told me, by those who ought to have supported him; but, nevertheless, both from the testimony of Brutus, to which we cannot but attach the greatest weight, and from the evidence of all whom I subsequently saw, I gather that he won great honour for himself. To second Piso, then, who was not supported by the senators present in the House, I came without delay; not that I could do any good, for that was beyond my power and my hopes alike, but that if anything should have happened to me—and many dangers seem to threaten me which are at once out of the course of nature, and at variance with my destined lot—at any rate I might leave my voice this day as a witness to the state of my undying loyalty.

And now, my lords, in the full confidence that you are satisfied with my reasons both for going and returning, before entering on public matters I must complain in a few words of the wrong which Antonius did me yesterday. I am his friend, and have always acknowledged that I was bound to be so in consideration of a service which I once received from him.

What conceivable plea was there for insisting with such bitterness on my presence in the senate yesterday? Was I the only absentee? or has there not frequently been a less numerous attendance? Was the question under discussion of so great importance, that even sick members ought to have been carried to the House? Hannibal, I suppose, was at the gates; or peace with Pyrrhus was under discussion, to which debate we are told that Appius, that blind old man, was brought in his bed. No, my lords, the subject under consideration was a public service of thanksgiving, a kind of

5.

question for which there is generally no unwillingness to attend. For senators are induced to come down, not by distress upon their goods, but by their interest in the men to whom the compliment is proposed; just as we find to be the case when a triumph is discussed. The consuls are so free from anxiety on such occasions, that a senator may almost please himself whether he will attend or not. Accordingly, knowing this custom, and being tired after my journey, and somewhat indisposed, I sent as a matter of friendly courtesy to tell him so. Yet he declared before you all that he would bring a band of masons to destroy my house; a threat which surely betokened too much passion and extreme intemperance. For what crime is ever visited with so severe a punishment, that he should have the effrontery to say in this House that he would use labourers employed by the state to pull down a house which the state had built in obedience to a decree of the senate? Who ever forced a senator to attend by such a penalty? or to what punishment is he liable beyond the levy of a distress or the infliction of a fine? But had he only known what vote I was intending to give, I think he would have shown somewhat less rigour in compelling me to come.

6. Think you, my lords, that I was likely to have voted for the decree to which you so unwillingly assented, or to combine a festival in honour of the dead with thanksgiving for a victory?—to involve the state in a religious difficulty which admits of no solution?—to vote for a thanksgiving service for the successes of a dead man? I care not who that dead man was. Suppose it were the patriot Brutus, who both himself delivered our country from the tyranny of a despot and left descendants behind him who, after the lapse of some 500 years, should display like valour in a like achievement; still I could not be induced to mix up any dead man with my worship of the immortal gods, so that a public thanksgiving should be offered in his honour, while a tomb existed anywhere at which the customary offerings might be rendered to the dead. The vote which I should have given was of such a kind, that I should have

had no difficulty in making good my position with the Roman people had any more serious disaster happened to the state; had it been visited by any such calamities from war, or pestilence, or famine, as seem already either to have befallen it, or to be hanging closely over our heads. But I pray that for this impiety the gods may grant their pardon both to the people who do not approve of it, and to you who sanctioned it against your will. But, leaving this, is it granted me to speak of the other misfortunes of the state? I indeed never have been and never shall be prevented from maintaining my honour, and showing my contempt for death. Give me but the power of entering this House, I do not shrink from the peril of speaking. I only wish, my lords, that I could have been here on August 1; not that anything could have been done, but that it might not have been left to a single consular to prove himself worthy of his rank and of the state. And this is indeed a heavy grief to me, that men who have received the highest favours from the Roman people should have failed to support the noble motion of Lucius Piso. Was it for this that the Roman people made us consuls? that, being placed on the highest pinnacle of rank, we should hold the state in no esteem? It was not only in words but in looks that Lucius Piso, the consular, sought in vain for any countenance. What, in the name of all that is unholy, means this voluntary slavery? Grant that such slavery could not wholly be avoided; for that would require patriotism whose absence I excuse in some who speak as consulars; but I make a distinction between those whose silence I pardon and those whom I expect to speak. And I am grieved that these last should have laid themselves open with the Roman people to the imputation not only of cowardice, which is bad enough, but of having failed for various reasons to maintain their honour.

And therefore, in the first place, I wish to express the gratitude which I feel towards Piso, who considered not what measures he could carry in the state, but what individually he ought to do; and then I beg of you, my lords, that even if you lack the courage to support

7.

my speech and the policy which I lay before you, you will at least be kind enough to render me your usual attention.

To begin with, I move that the acts of Cæsar be ratified—not that I approve of them—who could go so far as that? but because I think that our first consideration should be for peace and quiet. I should wish that Marcus Antonius were present—so it were without his retainers; but I suppose that he has the privilege, which he yesterday refused to me, of being indisposed; still, if he were here he would inform me, or rather, would inform you, my lords, how he himself upholds the acts of Cæsar. Does he think to secure the ratification of those acts of Cæsar which he, and he alone, produces, or rather simply quotes, and that all should go for nought which Cæsar caused to be engraved on brass, thereby signifying that they should be permanent laws and edicts of the people? I consider myself that nothing is so thoroughly an act of Cæsar as a law which Cæsar made.

Or are we to ratify whatever promises Cæsar made, even if they were beyond what he himself could carry out? For there are many promises to many men which he left unfulfilled; and indeed, the favours which he actually fulfilled in life are fewer in number than the unfulfilled promises which have been discovered since his death. But I do not wish to change or interfere with these. I am most anxious to uphold his noble acts. I could wish indeed that the money in the temple of Ops were safe. It was blood-stained, it is true, but yet it was needed at this crisis, since its restoration to its proper owners was impossible. Still we may acquiesce in its expenditure, since that is sanctioned by the acts of Cæsar. But tell me, is there anything in the career of a man who, as a civilian, has been invested with supreme military as well as civil power in the state, which can so appropriately be called his act, as any law that he has passed? Ask for the acts of Gracchus, the Sempronian laws will be produced; for those of Sulla, you will be given the Cornelian laws.

Nay, in what acts did the third consulship of Pompeius consist? Surely in his laws. And if you were to inquire of Cæsar himself what acts he had performed as a civilian in the city, he would answer that he had been the author of many excellent laws; but his memoranda he would either change or not produce, or if he produced them, he would not count such things as you adduce among his acts. Yet I do not even contest such points as these: at some things I am positively willing to connive; but in the most important question of his laws I think it is intolerable that the acts of Cæsar should be set aside.

What law could you have that was better, more useful, more frequently demanded in the best era of the republic, than that ex-prætors should not hold their provinces for more than a year, nor ex-consuls for more than twice that time? If you take away this law do you think that the acts of Cæsar can be said to be maintained? Or again, are not all the laws which Cæsar passed to regulate proceedings in the law-courts set aside by the bill which has been advertised respecting the third panel of jurymen? And do you uphold the acts of Cæsar, if you overturn his laws? Unless indeed everything which he put down as a memorandum in his note-book is to be counted as his act, and upheld in consequence, however useless or iniquitous it may be, whilst what he laid before the people in the comitia of their centuries¹ is to be omitted from the catalogue. But let us see what this third panel is. 'The panel of centurions,' quoth he. What? were centurions not eligible for the judicial bench by the provisions of the Julian, and before it, of the Pompeian and Aurelian laws? 'Yes, eligible,' he says, 'but with the restriction of a property qualification.'

But this qualification was required not only of centurions, but of Roman knights as well; and under these conditions men distinguished for their bravery and

¹ The comitia centuriata, or meeting of the people in their centuries, was the supreme legislative and elective assembly of the Romans.

honour who have been centurions have sat, and are at present sitting, on the bench. 'Ah, but,' he says, 'these are not the men I want. Give a seat on it to any one who has ever been centurion.' If you were to make such a proposal in favour of the knights, which is a more honourable service, no one would approve of it; for in a judge both position and fortune ought to be considered. 'You are introducing elements,' says he, 'which I do not require; I even add as jurymen privates of the *Alauda* legion; for otherwise our friends say that they cannot secure their safety.' Surely there is an insult in the distinction which you offer to the men whom you surprise with a summons to the judicial bench; for the whole gist of the law is that a third panel should be composed of men who dare not give their judgment freely. And, good heavens, what a blunder have we here in the men who devised this law! The meaner each man's reputation, the more earnestly will he strive to wipe away this meanness by the sternness of his verdicts, and to prove that he is worthy of being enrolled in an honourable panel, and not of being hustled into one which is simply a disgrace.

9. A second law has been advertised, that men convicted of riot and treason may appeal to the people if they will. Is this, I would ask, a law, or the setting aside of all laws? For who is there at the present moment whose interest it is that such a law should stand? There is no prisoner for trial under the existing laws. No one seems likely to be apprehended: for I presume that deeds of armed violence will never be brought to trial in a court of law. 'But,' you will say, 'it is a matter of public opinion.' I wish that there was something which you would leave to that tribunal; for all the citizens are agreed in heart and voice about the safety of the state. What do you mean, then, by your eagerness in promoting a law which carries with it the greatest possible disgrace, and not a particle of popularity? For what can be more disgraceful than that a man who has been duly convicted of treason against the Roman people by his acts of violence should thereupon

betake himself again to the very violence which led to his conviction? But why should I argue any more about the law? as though the object were that any single person should appeal: the real object, the real meaning of your proposal, is that no one, under any circumstances, should ever be indicted under these new laws of yours. For where will you find a prosecutor so mad as willingly to expose himself to the mercy of a hired crowd by convicting a prisoner? or when will any juryman be rash enough to bring in a verdict of guilty, if he knows that he himself will thereupon be dragged before a mob of hireling labourers? Your law then does not confer the right of appeal, but it abolishes two most salutary laws with the processes which they sanction. What is this but to exhort our young men to be turbulent, seditious, and mischievous? And where will you place a limit to the ruinous frenzy of the tribunes, when you have done away with any trials for riot or for treason? What will be the effect of suspending the laws of Cæsar, which punish with exile any one who has been convicted of either one of those offences? When such men have the right of appeal given them, are not the acts of Cæsar virtually repealed? And those acts, my lords, though I never thought them wise, I yet felt were so fully worth preserving in the interests of peace and harmony, that I opposed any weakening at the present time, either of the laws which Cæsar had brought forward in his lifetime, or even of those which you see produced and published after his death.

Exiles have been restored by a dead man to their country; the franchise has been given by a dead man, not to individuals, but to whole nations and provinces; sources of revenue have been lost to the state through innumerable exemptions granted by the dead. We are then maintaining these measures on the unsupported testimony of a single man—a man it may be of the utmost probity, who has produced them from his private house. Do we at the same time think it right, in maintaining Cæsar's acts, to annul those laws about provinces and trials which he

himself in our presence read aloud, and advertised, and brought before the people, taking pride in doing so, and thinking that in them the safety of the state was guaranteed? And in the case of laws which have been advertised, we have at least the opportunity of complaint. Even this was denied in the case of those which are said to have been already proposed; for they were proposed without any public notice before they were even written out. But I ask, my lords, what reason either I myself or any one of you can have for fearing unsound laws whilst we have loyal tribunes of the Commons. We have men ready to interpose their veto, ready to defend the state with the weapons of religion; we surely ought to feel no fear. 'What veto,' says Antonius, 'are you talking of? What weapons of religion?' 'Why, those of course by which the safety of the state is guaranteed.' 'But those are laid aside as follies of a bygone age. The Forum will be occupied by an armed force, all the approaches will be closed, soldiers will be posted to keep guard at several points.' What then? Measures carried by such means will of course obtain the force of law, and the provisions so made law, I presume, you will order to be entered in the archives of the state. 'The consuls duly put the question to the people:' is this the right of having questions put which we received from our ancestors? 'And the people sanctioned in virtue of their prerogative.' What people? That which was shut out? What prerogative? That which was entirely destroyed by force of arms? And herein I speak about the future. It is a friend's part to give warning of what may yet be avoided. If the result be otherwise, my words will be proved to be untrue. I speak of the laws which have been advertised, on which you are still free to make your decision. I point out their faults; it is for you to remove them. I make a protest against compulsion by force of arms; it rests with you to render it impossible.

11. And the consuls, Dolabella, will have no reasonable ground for being angry with me because I speak in behalf of the state. Nor indeed do I think that

you will be so. I know how placable your temper is ; but they say that your colleague, influenced by his present fortunes, which he thinks so good, (I indeed, not to use strong language, should think him more fortunate if he were to imitate the consulships of his grandfathers and his maternal uncle)—at any rate, I hear that he is angry ; and I see how objectionable it is to have a man at once angry and at the head of an armed force, especially when such license is allowed to arms. But I will make a proposal which seems to me so fair that I do not think that Antonius will refuse to entertain it. If I say anything insulting against his life or his character, I will give him leave to be as much my enemy as he likes ; but if I keep to my usual custom, and merely utter freely what I feel about the state, then, in the first place, I deprecate his anger ; or secondly, if I fail in this, I beg him to be angry with me as his fellow-citizen. Let him employ a body-guard, if it is necessary, as he says, in self-defence ; but let it not hurt those who express their true opinions on the state's behalf. What can be fairer than this demand ? But if, as has been said to me by some of his friends, he is seriously offended by any speech which crosses his inclinations, even if it be free from any offensive expressions, we will not quarrel with the humour of a friend. But these same men use this language to me : ‘ You, the opponent of Cæsar, will not be allowed the same license as Piso, his father-in-law ; ’ and they follow it up with a warning of danger in my path. Nor shall I find the peril of death a less valid reason than illness for absence from this House.

But, in Heaven's name ! for when I look at you, Dolabella, considering my love for you, I cannot restrain my tongue from speaking of the mistake into which you both are falling ; for I honestly believe that men of noble birth and lofty aims like you have been desirous not, as some too credulous persons have supposed, of money,—a thing which has been scorned by every man of dignity and honour,—not of influence gained by violence, not of power which the Roman people could not brook, but of glory and the affection

12.

of your fellow-citizens. But glory is the praise of noble deeds and great services to the state, such as win approving testimony from the multitude as well as from all honest men. I would explain, Dolabella, in what the fruit of noble deeds consists, did I not see that you had experienced it for a time in a higher degree than any other man. What day can you recall that dawned with greater lustre in your life than that on which, having purified the Forum, having dispersed the crowd of disaffected citizens, having punished the ringleaders, you retired to your home? What rank, or family, or fortune, then could hinder men from pressing forward to congratulate and praise you? Nay, even I, in whom men thought they saw your prompter in these deeds, received the thanks and congratulations of the loyal on your behalf. Call to mind, I entreat you, Dolabella, the unanimous applause that greeted you in the theatre, when all the citizens, forgetting any ground of quarrel which they had with you, made it clear that they had thrown aside the recollection of their old sorrow in consideration of your recent services. Have you then, Dolabella—it is with great pain that I ask the question,—have you felt no remorse in giving up so great an honour?

13. And you, Antonius, I ask you, in your absence, do not you prefer that single day on which the senate met in the temple of Tellus to all the months during which some persons, whose opinions differ very much from mine, have deemed you happy? What a speech you made on unity! From what fears you freed the veterans; from what anxiety you relieved the state, when laying aside all private animosities, forgetting the auspices which you yourself announced as augur of the Roman people, you consented for the first time that your colleague should be your colleague, while your little son was sent by you as a hostage for peace into the Capitol! When was there greater rejoicing in the senate? or among the Roman people?—which had never assembled in greater numbers at any public meeting. Then at last we seemed to have gained freedom through

the deed of these brave men, because, as they had wished, peace followed in the train of liberty. One day followed, and a second, and a third, and many others in succession, before you let one pass without bestowing, as it were, some boon upon the state. The chief of all was your abolishing the title of dictator. By this one act of yours, for yours it was, you branded the name of the dead Cæsar with infamy which shall last for ever. For as on account of the crime of a single Marcus Manlius it was made unlawful by a family decree for any patrician Manlius to bear the name of Marcus, so you on account of the odium incurred by a single dictator removed the name of dictator entirely from the state. When you had completed these exploits on behalf of your country, did you regret your fortune, your honour, your distinction, your glory? If not, what caused this sudden change in you? I cannot bring myself to believe that you were led astray by greed of gain. People may say what they like, we are not bound to credit them; and I never yet saw anything mean or base in you. And yet a man is sometimes corrupted by his family, but I know how firm you are. I only wish that you could have avoided suspicion as well as you have resisted the temptation.

I see more reason to fear that through ignorance of the true road to glory you should think that it consists in being more powerful than all your fellow-citizens, and in being the object of their dread. If this be your idea, you entirely mistake the path that leads to glory. What is really glorious is to be a popular citizen, to deserve well of the state, to win the praise, the esteem, the love of those around you. To be the object of their fear and hatred is invidious. It is to be deprecated as a sign of weakness and impending ruin. And indeed we see in the play that this was ruinous to the very man who said, 'Their hate I fear not, if I have their dread.' If only, Antonius, you would bear in mind your grandfather—and yet how often and how much have you heard from me concerning him! Do you think that he would have cared to win immortality at the price of being feared,

14.

because he was allowed a body-guard? With him life, happiness, consisted in being equal to his fellow-citizens in liberty, foremost of them all in honour. And so, to say nothing of his happier days, I had rather experience the bitter death which he suffered at the hands of Lucius Cinna than all the despotic power of his cruel murderer.

But how shall I turn you by any words of mine? For if the death of Gaius Cæsar cannot force you to seek the love of others rather than their fear, no mere words from any one will be of any profit or avail. Yet any who think you happy on this account are miserable themselves. No one is happy who lives upon such terms that his death not only goes unpunished, but even brings the highest glory to his murderers. Wherefore turn yourself, I pray, and look back upon your ancestors, and so guide the helm of the state that your fellow-citizens may feel glad that you were born; for without this no one in the world can be either happy, or illustrious, or distinguished.

15. Both you, indeed, and Dolabella have before you many verdicts of the Roman people, and it troubles me that you do not take them sufficiently to heart. For what mean the shouts of countless citizens at the gladiators' show? What mean the popular lampoons? or the vast applause bestowed on the statue of Pompeius, or on the two tribunes of the commons who set themselves in opposition to you? Is there in all this only a slight intimation of the wondrous unanimity of the Roman people? Or again, did the applause bestowed upon the games of Apollo, or, I should rather say, the testimony and verdict of the Roman people, appear to you of slight importance? Happy men were they who, when they were prevented by force of arms from being present in person, yet were present in the hearts and breasts of the Roman people, and could not be dislodged from them! Unless indeed you think that the applause and the palm of victory were then bestowed on Attius, the hero of sixty years ago, and not on Brutus, who, though absent from the games which he himself exhibited, yet found that at

that most elaborate spectacle the Roman people showed their lasting zeal for their saviour, while they soothed their regret for his absence by constant shouts and demonstrations of applause.

I indeed am a man who has always shown his scorn for such applause, when bestowed on the favourite of the passing hour; but at the same time, when it proceeds from the highest, the middle, and the lowest classes, in short, from all the citizens alike, and when those who used to follow public opinion hold aloof, I consider it not applause, but a deliberate decision of the people. If, however, this seems to you of comparatively small importance, though it is really most significant, do you also think little of what you must have seen, that the life of Aulus Hirtius is so precious to the Roman people? For it was enough that he had gained their confidence, as he has; that he should be popular with his friends, in which he has no rival; that he should be precious to his family, who love him as no one else was ever loved; yet whom can we remember whose health excited such anxiety, such fear, in all good men? I can remember none. What then? Do you, in heaven's name, not see for yourselves what all this means? Think you that the citizens pay no heed to your safety when they set such value on the lives of those whom they hope to find serving the interests of the state? I, my lords, have reaped sufficient fruits of my return in that, in any case, I have said enough to prove my constancy, and have experienced the kindness and attention of my audience. If future opportunities shall be granted me with safety to myself and you, I will not fail to do as much again. If not, I shall reserve myself, so far as in me lies, not so much for myself as for the Commonwealth. I have lived long enough to satisfy my desire of life, and to fill up the measure of my fame: if more be granted me, it will not be for me, but for yourselves and for the state.

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE SECOND ORATION.

To the first Philippic oration Antonius made no reply for several days, but on September 19 he held a meeting of the senate, at which he delivered a violent invective against Cicero, which was evidently meant as an open declaration of war against him. Taking it as such, and not feeling strong enough for immediate opposition, Cicero shortly afterwards retired from Rome, and spent his time in composing the second oration, which was never spoken, but was published about the end of November, when Antonius was obliged to leave Rome, on account of a mutiny among his troops at Alba. Its effect was immediately apparent, the people being shaken by it in their allegiance to the consul; while the senate, with Cicero at their head, were stimulated to repudiate his authority, and take active steps for the maintenance of their liberty.

The speech, which has been accepted in all ages as the masterpiece of Roman oratory, professes to be delivered on September 19, as an immediate answer to Antonius's invective, and it is noticeable how the delusion is maintained by appeals to the feelings of the supposed audience, and acknowledgment of imaginary answers on their part.

Beginning with a reply to the several charges brought against him by Antonius, Cicero proceeds to give the history of his opponent's life from his boyhood upwards, sparing no detail of his private or his public faults, and holding him up to general scorn as possessed of almost every vice.

It is little wonder that an invective of such bitterness

closed the door to all reconciliation between Cicero and Antonius, the substantial truth of the charges contained in the speech making it all the more impossible for Antonius to forgive them ; and from this time till Cicero's death there was one continued trial of strength between Antonius and the constitutional party, with Cicero at its head.

Cicero himself appears to have felt that after such a manifesto the struggle was for life and death, as in his subsequent speeches we find no traces of the moderate and conciliatory tone which was conspicuous in his first oration.

THE SECOND ORATION.

WHENCE comes it, my lords? to what decree of fate can I ascribe it? that no one for the last twenty years has been an enemy of the state, without at the same time declaring war against myself? Nor indeed is it requisite that I should mention any names: you can recall them for yourselves. They have paid me heavier penalties than I should wish. I wonder, Antonius, that in imitating what they did, you do not shrink in terror from their fate. In other cases this was less astonishing. For no one hitherto has been my enemy of his own accord: they all were first attacked by me as champion of the state. You, without a word of provocation on my part, to prove yourself more daring than Catiline, more insane than Clodius, attacked me wantonly with your abuse, and thought that by forfeiting my friendship you would best ingratiate yourself with your disloyal fellow-citizens. What can I suppose? That I am treated with contempt? I do not see what there is either in my private life, or in the favour which I enjoy, or in my public actions, or in what moderate talents I possess, that Antonius can despise. Or did he think that it was in the senate that my character could most easily be assailed? Why you, my lords, though you have borne testimony to the services of many noble citizens in administering the state, have given me, and me alone, the credit of preserving it. Or did he wish to try his powers of eloquence against mine? This would indeed have been a kindness. For where could I find a fuller or more copious theme, than in speaking

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for myself against Antonius? But in fact the truth is this: he thought that men like himself would never be convinced that he was hostile to his country, unless he proved himself an enemy of mine. And before I answer him on other points, I will say a few words in reply to the charge which he brings against me, a very heavy charge in my opinion, of proving false to our friendship.

2. He complains that on some occasion or another I opposed his interests. Was I not to oppose a stranger on behalf of an intimate friend and near connection of my own? Was I to spare favour obtained, not by the promise of virtue, but by the degradation of youthful beauty? Was I to spare a wrong which Antonius carried through, not by due process in the prætors' court, but by favour of a veto from the most unscrupulous of tribunes? But I suppose that you mentioned this for no other reason than to commend yourself to the lowest of the citizens, when they should all remember that you had married the daughter, that your children were the grandsons, of Quintus Fadius, a freedman. But you say that you were no stranger, that you had placed yourself under my instruction,—this is your argument,—that you had been in the habit of coming to my house. Truly, had you done so, you would have shown more regard for your reputation, for your innocence. But you never did; nor, had you wished it, would Gaius Curio have permitted you. You say that you retired in my favour from the contest for the augurship. My ears can hardly credit such audacity, such signal impudence. At the time when, by the desire of the whole college, Quintus Hortensius and Gnaeus Pompeius proposed me for the augurship, this being the full number of proposers allowed by the statutes, you were insolvent, and believed that you could only escape bankruptcy by promoting a revolution in the state. Could you, moreover, at that time have been a candidate for the augurship, while Gaius Curio was abroad? even when you were elected, would you have been able to carry a single tribe without the aid of Curio, whose friends were

actually convicted of riot for too much zeal on your behalf?

But I availed myself of your kindly services. What services? and yet I have never forgotten the fact to which you refer. I had rather confess myself your debtor than be thought in any degree ungrateful by any one unacquainted with the facts. But what were these services? That you spared my life at Brundisium? Would you have killed the man whom the victor himself had desired to be safe, and had ordered to return to Italy? that victor, who, as you yourself habitually boasted, had given you the foremost place among his robbers? But grant that this was in your power. What other services, my lords, can robbers render, save that they can claim to have given life to those whose lives they spare? If this were any genuine service, then those who slew the man that had preserved their lives, who are commonly declared by you to be distinguished men, would never have acquired such fame. But what kind of service is it, that you abstained from a deed of impious wickedness? In such a case I ought not to feel pleasure at being spared by you, so much as humiliation at your having had it in your power to kill me with impunity. But grant that it was a kindly service, since no greater can be rendered by a robber; yet in what can you accuse me of ingratitude? Ought I not to have complained of the ruin of the state, for fear of seeming guilty of ingratitude towards you? And yet in making that complaint, which, humiliating and mournful as it was, was forced from me by considerations of the position in which I have been placed by the senate and the Roman people, what word of insult did I utter? what did I say that was not moderate and friendly? What self-control did it not rather manifest, that in complaining of Antonius I abstained from all abuse; and this too though you had squandered the remaining fragments of the state, though nothing was too sacred to be sold with the most infamous trafficking at your house, though you confessed that laws which had never been advertised were brought forward both to

3.

benefit yourself and by yourself, though as augur you had disregarded the auspices, as consul the veto of the tribunes, though you were most shamelessly encircled by a body-guard, though amid the exhaustion caused by debauchery and wine you were daily practising every kind of profligacy in a house devoid of decency? And yet, as though my antagonist had been Marcus Crassus, with whom I have had so many severe contests, and not a certain most abandoned gladiator, I abstained from personalities while stating forcibly the grievances of the state. And so to-day I will contrive to let him know what services he then received from me.

4. But he went so far as to read in public a letter, which he said he had received from me, showing thereby his want of manners and his ignorance of the ordinary customs of civilised life. Where ever would you find a man, among those who are even distantly acquainted with the usages of society, who, because of some difference which had arisen between them, would produce a letter from a friend and read it openly in public? Such conduct is nothing else than the destruction of all social intercourse in life; it would render impossible all interchange of thought with absent friends. How often there are little jokes in letters, which, if given to the world, seem out of taste! how often things which are serious enough, yet never meant for publication! So much for his ill-breeding. Now see the incredible folly of the man. How can you answer me, O man of eloquence, as you appear already to Tiro and Mustela? (and as at this present moment they are standing armed in the presence of the senate, I will myself acknowledge your eloquence, when you show me how you will defend them against a charge of murder :) but how can you answer me, if I deny that I ever sent you such a letter? On what evidence will you convict me? by the handwriting? in which you have such lucrative experience. How can you? for it is written by a clerk. I have now learned to envy your instructor, who for such a price as I shall presently divulge is teaching you to be nothing better than a fool. For what could be less

worthy, I do not say of an orator, but of a man, than to bring an objection against an opponent, which requires only his bare denial to stop your further progress in the attack? But I admit the authorship, and convict you, by the charge you bring yourself, not only of discourtesy, but of actual madness. For what single expression is there in the letter you produce, which is not full of courtesy, and kindness, and readiness to oblige? The sole point of your accusation is that in the letter I express no bad opinion of you, that, in fact, I write as to a citizen and to an honest man, and not as to a reprobate and a robber. For my part, though your attack entitles me to do so, I will not produce your letter in return, in which you ask me to allow you to recall a certain exile, and pledge your honour that you will not recall him without my consent, which you gain by your entreaties. For why should I interfere with your audacity, which neither the authority of this House, nor public opinion in Rome, nor any force of law was able to restrain? But still, why need you have appealed to me, if the subject of your entreaties was already restored to his country by the law which Cæsar passed? I presume he wished the credit to be mine, whereas there was no room for any credit even for himself, if the matter were decided by an existing law.

But since I am bound, my lords, to say something for myself and much against Antonius, while I beg of you to listen favourably to what I say on my own behalf, I will depend upon myself for making you listen to my attack on him. At the same time I must ask of you so much as this: if you have learned to appreciate the self-restraint and modesty which I have shown in all my life, and especially as an orator, do not imagine that if I answer him to-day in the spirit of his challenge, I have been forgetful of myself. I will not treat him as a consul, nor did he on his part treat me as a consular. And indeed he is in no sense a consul, either in respect of his life, or his administration, or the mode of his appointment; while no one can dispute my rank as consular. That you might understand, there-

5.

fore, what kind of consul he professed himself to be, he reproached me with my consulship, which, while nominally mine, my lords, was really yours. For what resolution, what line of policy, what course of conduct did I adopt, which was not founded on the debates, the authority, the deliberate opinion of this House? And had you, who make pretence of wisdom in addition to your eloquence, the hardihood to attack my actions in the presence of the very men to whose wisdom and counsel they were due? Who was ever found to assail my consulship, except yourself and Publius Clodius? His fate indeed is reserved for you, as it was for Gaius Curio, since you have an element of mischief in your house, which caused death to both of them. My consulship does not satisfy Marcus Antonius. Yet it satisfied Publius Servilius, to name first among the consulars of that time the man who is most lately dead: it satisfied Quintus Catulus, whose authority will ever carry weight at Rome; it satisfied the two Luculli, Marcus Crassus, Quintus Hortensius, Gaius Curio, Gaius Piso, Manius Glabrio, Manius Lepidus, Lucius Volcatius, Gaius Figulus, as well as Decimus Silanus and Lucius Murena, the consuls-elect for the ensuing year; the same conduct too which satisfied the consulars was approved by Marcus Cato, who, by hastening his death, avoided many evils, and, chief of them, the sight of you as consul. But, above all, my consulship was approved by Gnaeus Pompeius, who no sooner saw me, after leaving Syria, than he embraced me and declared with many congratulations that it was through my services that he would see his country once again. But why go through a list of individuals? In a very full House the senate was so satisfied with the conduct of my consulship, that there was no one who did not thank me as a parent, who did not give me credit for being the saviour of his life, his property, his family, and his fatherland.

6.

But since the state has lost the whole of these distinguished men whom I have named, let us come to the living, of whom two are left to represent the consulars.

Lucius Cotta, a man of the highest genius and the utmost prudence, after seeing the actions which you censure, proposed a public thanksgiving in my honour in the most complimentary terms, and the very consulars whom I have named and all the senate agreed to it with one accord; an honour which had never previously been paid to anyone since the foundation of the city, except for distinctions gained in war. Lucius Cæsar gave his vote against his sister's husband, your stepfather, in a speech of the utmost earnestness and weight. He was the man whom you should have chosen to be your adviser and instructor in all your policy throughout life, but you chose to imitate your stepfather rather than your uncle. I, a stranger in blood, and holding the highest position in the state, was glad at such a time to seek his counsel; but when did you, his sister's son, consult him on any single point concerning the state? But whom, in Heaven's name, does he consult? Why, those whose very birthdays must be dinned into even our ears. Antonius is not coming to the House to-day. Why not? He is at his villa, keeping a birthday feast. Whose? I will name no one; suppose it to be some Phormio, or Gnatho, or even Ballio. At best a parasite, possibly a pander. What foul indecency the man displays! what intolerable impudence, and profligacy, and debauchery! When you have a leading senator, a distinguished citizen so nearly related to you, can you fail to consult him upon affairs of state, and betake yourself instead to those who, having no property of their own, are bent on draining yours?

Your consulship then, we must admit, was beneficial to the state, and mine was the reverse. Have you so lost all sense of shame as well as purity, as to venture on such an assertion in this temple, in which I was wont to consult the senate, which then, in the days of its fullest strength, was supreme over the world, but in which you have stationed most abandoned men in arms? Nay, he has even dared—for what is there too bold for you to dare?—he has even dared to say that when I was

7.

consul the slopes of the Capitol were full of armed slaves. In order, I presume, that those iniquitous decrees of the senate might be passed, I was proposing to employ violence against the senate. What a miserable man you are, whether the history of those days is unknown to you—for you know nothing that is good—or whether it is familiar, in either case what a miserable man you are, to make so impudent a speech to such an audience! For who that held the rank of Roman knight? who besides yourself that was a youth of noble blood? who of any rank that bore in mind that he was a citizen of Rome, was absent from the slopes of the Capitol, while the senate was assembled in this place? Who did not enrol his name for service? although there were neither clerks enough nor muster-rolls enough to take their names. For when traitors to the state, on being charged with the intended destruction of their fatherland, confessed under the pressure of evidence from accomplices, from their own handwriting, from the living voice almost of the letters they had written, that they had conspired to set the city on fire, to massacre the citizens, to lay waste Italy, to destroy the republic, who could fail to be excited to defend the common weal? especially when the senate and the Roman people had such a leader, that if his equal now existed, you would have met the same fate which then befell them.

Next he asserts that I refused to give up for burial the body of his stepfather. This not even Publius Clodius ever said: and since I had good grounds for being at enmity with him, I grieve to find you now surpassing him in every kind of vice. But how did it ever come into your head to recall to our memories that you were brought up in the house of Publius Lentulus? Were you afraid that we should not suppose it possible that you could have turned out so infamous, had Nature not been aided by your education?

3.

But you were so utterly devoid of sense, that throughout the whole of your speech you were disputing with yourself, saying things which not only were

inconsistent with each other, but involved direct contradiction and opposition, so that the contest was not so much between you and me as between Antonius and Antonius. You acknowledged that your stepfather was guilty of the crime, you complained that he was punished for it. So what was especially my action you praised; what was common to the whole senate, you visited with censure; for it was my province to arrest the criminals, to punish them was the duty of the senate. The accomplished orator does not perceive that he is praising his opponent, in finding fault with those who form his audience. Further, what a sign he gives, I will not say of audacity—for to be audacious is his fondest wish—but of folly, in which, though he desires it not, he is master of the field, in making mention of the slopes of the Capitol, when a body of troops is actually in the midst of our seats; when, in the very place in which, during my consulship, votes were given beneficial to the state—votes to which we owe our very existence at this day, aye, good heavens, in this very shrine of Concord men are stationed, armed with swords! Accuse the senate, accuse the knights who then joined forces with the senate, accuse all orders in the state, all the citizens, so long as you confess that this House is at this present time besieged by Ityraean mercenaries. It is not that your audacity emboldens you to make such unblushing statements, but that in failing to see the inconsistency involved in what you say you prove yourself a very fool. For what more utter madness can there be than to reproach another for taking up arms to ensure the safety of the state, when you have had recourse to them for its destruction? But, on one occasion, you even made an attempt at wit. That, as heaven knows, was little in your line. And yet one cannot deem you wholly free from blame for this; you might have learned some little sharpness from your actress wife. ‘Yield, arms, submission to the garb of peace!’ Well, did not arms then yield? But afterwards the garb of peace gave way before arms. Let us inquire, then, which has proved the better course, for the arms

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of scoundrels to yield to the liberty of the Roman people, or for our liberty to yield before your arms. I will not, however, make you further answer on the subject of the verses; this much I will briefly say, that you neither know them nor any other kind of literature at all; that I, though never deaf to the call of country or of friends, have yet contrived, by every kind of memorial which I have tried to leave behind me, that my watchfulness and my literary work alike should bring some profit to our youth, some honour to the Roman name. But this is foreign to our present task; let us look to greater things.

9. You said that Publius Clodius was slain by my advice. What would men think if he had been slain at the time when you pursued him with a sword through the Forum in the presence of the Roman people, and would have finished the business, had he not thrown himself on to the stairs of a bookseller's shop, and baffled your attack by shutting the door in your face? Herein I confess that I gave you the sanction of my approval; not even you yourself would say that you acted at my instigation. Milo, however, I could not even support with my countenance; the thing was done before anyone suspected him of the intention. But, you say, I urged him on. I suppose Milo's was a spirit which could not do a service to the state unless some one urged him on. But I rejoiced. What then? Amid the general rejoicing of the state was I alone to mourn? And yet there was an inquiry into the death of Clodius—not set on foot with great discretion, I must grant, for what was the use of a new form of inquest about an act of homicide under a new law, when an inquiry was already provided by existing laws? However, an inquest was held. And was it left for you, after an interval of so many years, to bring a charge against me, which was brought by no one at the time when the matter was discussed?

But you have dared to say, and that at length, that mine was the influence which alienated Pompeius from his friendship with Cæsar; and that, therefore, the civil

war was occasioned by my fault. Now, in this you are wrong, not in all the facts of the case, but what is most important, in the dates.

During the consulship of the famous Marcus 10.
Bibulus, I left no stone unturned to secure, so far as lay within me, the dissolution of Pompeius' partnership with Cæsar. In this Cæsar met with more success, for he succeeded in alienating Pompeius from myself. But so soon as the latter had given himself over body and soul to Cæsar, why was I to interfere between them? None but a fool could have hoped for success, no one with common modesty would have made the attempt. On two subsequent occasions, however, I have given some advice to Pompeius in opposition to Cæsar, and these you may find fault with if you can. One was that he should not further extend the command which Cæsar had already held for a period of five years; the other that he should not sanction a proposal that Cæsar should be accepted as a candidate for the consulship in his absence. If my advice had been followed in either of these cases, we should never have experienced our present misery. Again, when Pompeius had placed in Cæsar's hands not only all that he possessed himself, but all the resources also of the Roman people, and was beginning too late to perceive what I had long ago foreseen, inasmuch as an iniquitous war was being waged against our country, I never ceased to promote peace and concord and reconciliation; and one appeal of mine is familiar to all of you, when I said, 'O Pompeius, how thankful I should be if either you had never joined with Cæsar, or had never separated from him! The former course we might have expected from your steadfastness of character, the latter from your wisdom.' Such, Antonius, has ever been my policy in regard to Pompeius and the state alike. Had this prevailed, the republic would be safe to-day; you with your crimes, your want of money, and your want of character would have collapsed.

But these are old stories. The next is a new charge, 11.
—that Cæsar was killed by my advice. I really fear, my

lords, that I must appear as though I had been guilty of the disgraceful act of employing a confederate, who, under pretence of accusing me, should credit me with other people's merits as well as with my own. For who ever heard my name mentioned among the persons concerned in that most glorious deed? And, at the same time, which of their number was there whose name was suppressed? Suppressed, do I say: which of them was there whose name was not immediately proclaimed? I could sooner be induced to say that some had boasted of being privy to the deed who had no knowledge of it, than that any one of those concerned had wished to have his share in it concealed. What probability, moreover, is there that my name could have failed to come to light among so many men, some of them men of little note, some of them mere youths without discretion to suppress the name of any one? For if instigators were wanted for the salvation of our country, when men like these were setting it on foot, was I to urge the Bruti to the deed, of whom both see daily in their halls the ancestral image of Lucius Brutus, one that of Spurius Ahala as well? Were men with such ancestry to look back upon likely to seek advice from strangers rather than from their own kindred?—from outside rather than within their homes? What? Gaius Cassius, I suppose, a member of a family which refused to bear not only the despotism, but even the excessive power of any other man, was likely to stand in need of my advice; who, even without his noble colleagues, would have finished the matter in Cilicia, at the mouth of the Cydnus, had Cæsar landed on the bank which he intended of the river. Was Gnaeus Domitius incited to regain our liberty, not by the loss of his gallant father, not by his uncle's death, not by the degradation of his own position, but by the weight of my authority? Did I persuade Gaius Trebonius? whom, indeed, I should not even have ventured to advise; in fact, the state owes a special debt of gratitude to him, in that he set the liberty of the Roman people before his friendship with an individual, and chose to

overthrow a tyranny rather than to share its power. Did Lucius Tillius Cimber follow my lead? whose antecedents gave me far less reason to suppose that he would do the deed, than to wonder at his having done it: to wonder, because he showed that in remembering his country he could forget the benefits which he had received. What of the two Servilii? Cascas shall I call them, or Ahalas? Think you that they too were moved to action by my authority rather than by the love they bore their country? It would be tedious to go through the list, and that it is so long does honour to the state, while it is glorious to themselves.

But just consider how so sharp a man has involved me in the charge. Immediately on Cæsar's death, he says, Brutus held up the blood-stained dagger, and, shouting out the name of Cicero, congratulated him on the recovery of liberty. Why should he single me out for congratulation? Because I was privy to the plot? Nay, see if it was not rather that he called on me, because, as he had achieved an exploit like my own, he wished for me in preference to others as a witness that he had come forward to emulate my fame. But as for you, most foolish of men, do you not perceive that if, as you argue against me, it is a crime to have wished for Cæsar's death, it cannot fail to be a crime to rejoice that he is dead? For what moral difference is there between urging an action and approving of it? or what matter does it make whether I wished for the deed or rejoice that it was done? Is there anyone, then, except those who rejoiced in his kingly sway, who either was unwilling that the deed should be done or has impugned it since? All therefore share in the fault, for all loyal citizens, so far as rested with them, took part in Cæsar's death. Some wanted the necessary powers of contrivance, some the courage, some the opportunity; but not one the will. Yet look at the stupidity of the man, may I not say rather of the ass? for this is what he says, 'Brutus, whom I name with all respect, with the reeking dagger in his hand, called out the name of Cicero, therefore we may see that Cicero was in the plot.' That is to say,

that I am accused of what is infamous by you, because you suspect me of having suspected something : Brutus, who held up the dripping dagger, is named by you with all respect. Be it so : thus much for the stupidity of your words, it is even grosser in your deeds and votes. Make up your consul's mind at length, determine what complexion you would wish to be given to the case of the others, of the Bruti, of Gaius Cassius, Gnaeus Domitius, Gaius Trebonius and the rest : in other words, shake off your drunken sleep and rouse yourself. Must you be stirred with the point of a lighted torch from sleeping over such a question as this? Will you never understand that you must decide for yourself whether those who did this deed are murderers or champions of liberty?

13. For pay attention for a little while ; and adopt for the moment the thoughtfulness of a sober man. I, who by my own confession am their friend, whom you maintain to be a partner in their plot, say that there can be no middle view ; I acknowledge that if they are not the saviours and preservers of the Roman people, then they are worse than cut-throats, worse than murderers, nay even worse than parricides, if we grant that it is more atrocious in a man to destroy his country's parent than his own. What then have you to say, O wisest and most thoughtful among men? If they are parricides, why name them always with respect both in this House and before the Roman people? Why free Marcus Brutus from the operation of the laws which forbid him as city prætor to be more than ten days absent from Rome? Why were the games of Apollo celebrated with such incredible demonstrations in his honour? Why were provinces granted to Brutus and Cassius? Why were additional quæstors allowed them? Why was the number of their *legati* increased? Yet all this was done through you : you do not therefore call them murderers. It follows that in your opinion they are saviours, for other alternative there is none. What is it? do I confuse you? Perhaps you do not altogether understand what is stated in the form of a dilemma. For this is the sum of my conclusion : since you acquit

them of crime, you at the same time pronounce them in the highest degree deserving of the noblest rewards. Accordingly I now remodel my speech. I will write to them that, if any one should ask whether your charge against me is true, they are under no circumstances to deny it. For I fear that it may be either dishonourable to them that I was not admitted to the plot, or most disgraceful to myself, that having been invited I declined to take a part in it. For, tell me, holy Jupiter, what exploit either in this city or in all the world was ever greater or more glorious? what deed has ever more commended itself to the recollection of mankind for all ages? Do you include me in the partnership of this scheme, as with the chiefs in the Trojan horse? I do not shrink from it; I even thank you, with whatever intention you are doing it. For in so important a matter I consider the odium which you would rouse against me as nothing in comparison with the praise which I may gain. For where is anything happier than the men whom you boast to have expelled and banished from the city? What place is there so desolate, so uncivilized, as not to seem to welcome and invite their presence? What men so clownish as not to think, when they have once set eyes on them, that they have reaped the noblest fruit which life can give? What future ages will be so unmindful, what literature so ungrateful, as not to make the memory of their fame immortal? By all means then enrol me in the list.

But there is one thing of which I fear that you will not approve. For had I been one of them, I should have freed the state not only from a tyrant, but from tyranny; and if I had been its author, I should have finished the whole tragedy, instead of pausing at the completion of a single act. And yet if it be a crime to have desired Cæsar's death, consider, Antonius, I beg of you, what men must think of you; since it is notorious that at Narbo you formed a similar design with Gaius Trebonius: and in consideration of this partnership we saw you safely drawn aside by him at the time of Cæsar's death. But in proof that I do not treat you as

14.

an enemy, I praise you for having at one time entertained a loyal thought; I thank you for not giving information; I pardon you from shrinking from the deed, for that required a man. But if anyone bring you to trial, and apply to you the question of Lucius Cassius, 'who has been the gainer?' take care that you are not in a scrape. Although the result was gain for all who were unwilling to be slaves, as you yourself confessed, yet you were the greatest gainer, who are not only freed from slavery but exalted to a throne, who have released yourself from incalculable debt by seizing the treasures in the temple of Ops, who have squandered countless sums of money by the same documents by which you gained them, to whom so much was brought from Cæsar's house, who have at home a most lucrative manufactory of spurious signatures and memoranda, a most iniquitous market for lands, towns, exemptions from taxation, and assignments of the public revenue. For what except the death of Cæsar could have relieved your poverty and debt? You seem to be somewhat disturbed: is it that you have a secret fear that you should seem to be connected with this charge? If so, I set you free from it; no one will believe it of you; you are not the man to do the state a service, her noblest sons are at her disposal for a gallant deed like that: I only say that you rejoiced at it, I do not accuse you of a share in it. Thus far I have answered your most weighty charges; now for those of less importance.

15.

You reproach me with the camp of Pompeius and all the evils of that time. But if, as you allege, my advice and authority had prevailed at that crisis, then you would be to-day a beggar, we should be free, and the state would not have lost so many generals with their armies. For I confess that when I foresaw the occurrence of what afterwards took place, I felt all the sorrow which the other loyal citizens would have felt had they foreseen the same. I was sad, I was sad, my lords, when I thought that the destruction of the republic, which had once been saved by our united counsels, could not be long deferred. Nor was I indeed so

ignorant or inexperienced as to lose all heart through love of life, the continuance of which would overwhelm me with distress, while its termination would free me from all trouble. What I desired was the safety of that gallant band of men, the lights of the state, all the consulars, all the ex-prætors, all those honourable senators, all the flower of our nobility and our youth, all those armies too of loyal citizens. Had these survived on any terms of peace, however hard—for I conceived that any peace between citizens was more expedient than civil war—then the constitution would be safe to-day. And had this view prevailed, had not the hope of victory induced those very men whose safety was my first concern to be my chief opponents, then, to pass over other good results, you would certainly never have remained in this House, or I may say in Rome. But you say that the freedom of my tongue lost me the friendship of Pompeius. Was there anyone whom he loved more?—anyone who was more constantly admitted to a share in his counsels and his conversation? and this, it must be confessed, is no slight test, that men who entertained opposite views on the highest matters of state policy should retain an undiminished friendship for each other. I knew each thought and intent of his heart, and he knew each in mine. I considered first the safety of the citizens, that we might be able to consider their dignity afterwards; he was rather for beginning with their dignity. But our difference of opinion was the more endurable, as each of us had a definite end in view. But what the real opinion of that remarkable and almost godlike man about me was, is known to those who accompanied him in his flight from Pharsalia to Paphos. He never mentioned me except in honourable terms, except with expressions of most affectionate regret; while he acknowledged that I had had the keenest foresight, he the more sanguine expectations. And do you dare to attack me in the name of a man whose friend you acknowledge me to have been, while you bought up his goods?

16. But let us pass over that war, in which you were too fortunate. I will not even answer you about the jests which you say that I made in the camp. It is true that the camp was full of care, but men, so long as they are men, relax at times even amid the heaviest perplexities. But that one and the same man finds fault with my sadness and my jests is a strong proof that in neither was I guilty of excess:

You say that no legacy was ever left to me. I would your charge were true: for more of my friends and relations would be still alive. But what put that idea into your head? since my accounts show something like 170,000*l.* received in legacies. And yet in this particular I own that you are the more fortunate of the two. No one ever made me his heir unless he was a friend, that with the benefit, if benefit it were, some sorrow might be mixed: you were made the heir of Lucius Rubrius of Casinum, whom you had never seen. And see what love you inspired in a man the very colour of whose complexion you do not know. He passed over his brother's son; the son of Quintus Fufius, a most honourable Roman knight, and a dear friend of his own, whom he had openly and constantly declared his heir, he does not even name in his will; he left his property to you, whom he had never seen, or at least had never visited. I wish you would tell me, if it is not troubling you too much, what Lucius Turselius was like, how tall he was, to what borough and tribe he belonged. 'I know nothing,' you will say, 'except what farms he had.' It was for this then that he was willing to disinherit his brother and leave his property to you. There were also many other sums of money of which he took forcible possession to the exclusion of the true heirs, as though he were himself the heir. And yet what has most excited my astonishment is this, that you have dared to broach the subject of inheritances, when you yourself had not entered on the inheritance of your father.

17. Was it to collect these arguments, you maddest of madmen, that you spent so many days declaiming in

the villa of another man? And yet, if we may believe the statements made so often by your dearest friends, it is not to sharpen your intellect, but to work off the fumes of wine, that you declaim. Yet by way of jest you employ a teacher, whom you and your boon companions dub a rhetorician, whom you allowed to say what he pleased at your expense—a witty man enough; but there is no difficulty in finding subject-matter for a joke, with you and your companions for butts. But see the difference between you and your grandfather! He would utter with deliberation what might aid his cause: you pour forth a stream of words to do it hurt. Again, what wages has he given to his rhetorician! Listen, my lords, listen, and learn how the state receives its wounds. Two thousand acres of land at Leontini have you apportioned to Sextus Clodius, the rhetorician, free from taxes too, that at such a cost to the Roman people you might learn to be a fool. Was this, most audacious man, in Cæsar's memoranda? But I will speak elsewhere of the land both at Leontini and in Campania, which he has stolen from the state to pollute them with the basest occupants. Now, having made sufficient answer to his accusations, I must say a few words about the personal life of our would-be school-master and reformer. And yet I will not pour forth all, so that if many contests are in store for us, as they are, I may ever come fresh to the attack; a power which is given me by the multiplicity of his faults and sins.

Shall we, then, examine your conduct from your boyish years? I think we will. Let us begin from the beginning. Do you remember that while still in school-boy's dress you became a bankrupt? That, you will say, was your father's fault. Be it so; the excuse is full of filial affection. But this at least is audacity of your own, that you sat in the theatre in the seats allotted to the knights, when by the Roscian law a special place is assigned to bankrupts, even when the bankruptcy is fortune's fault and not their own. You assumed the garb of manhood, which you soon degraded by a life of harlotry. At first indiscriminate in your

18.

amours, with a fixed and ample price for your abandoned conduct, presently by the interference of Curio you were rescued from your public trafficking, and, as though restored to a respectable position, were established by him in regular and durable wedlock. No purchased minion was ever so thoroughly in his master's power as were you in Curio's. How often did his father turn you out of doors? How often did he place watchmen to prevent your entrance? while you, with night for your accomplice, lust to urge you on, and your wages driving you forward, were let down through the roof.

The house could no longer stand the wickedness. Do you know that I am speaking with full knowledge of my facts? Do you remember when the elder Curio was lying sick at heart in bed? his son, throwing himself at my feet, commended you with tears to me: he begged me to protect him against his father's anger, if he asked him for a sum of 60,000*l.*; it was hardly for less that he had become security for you. For himself he declared in the ardour of his love that he would go into exile, since he could not bear the grief of severance from you. At that time what unhappiness in a most prosperous family I allayed, or rather entirely removed! I persuaded the father to employ his fortune for the payment of his son's debts, and so to rescue a youth of the greatest promise, both in heart and intellect, and to use his rights and powers as a father to restrain his son, not only from familiar intercourse, but from any interview with you. And would you, remembering that all this was done through my agency, have dared to assail me with abuse, except for your confidence in the swords which are before our eyes?

19.

But let us pass over his harlotries and crimes. There are some things which I cannot mention without dishonour, — and you allow yourself more license of speech, because a modest enemy cannot even speak before you of the things which you have done. But look at the remainder of his life, which I will hastily discuss. For my thoughts hasten to what he did in the civil war, amid the deepest misery of the state, and to what he now

does day by day. And I entreat you to listen to this with your wonted attention, though it is even more familiar to you than to myself; for it is right in such cases that the feelings should be stirred not only by our knowledge of events, but by calling them to mind; though at the same time I think we may cut short the middle of the story, lest we should be too long in arriving at the end.

In his tribuneship he was intimate with Clodius; he who now enumerates his services to me, he was the firebrand that set alight the fire of that villain's treason, and even then he attempted something at his house. What I mean he understands as no one else can do. Then came his journey to Alexandria, in opposition to the authority of this House, and to the state and to all feelings of religion; but he had Gabinius as his leader, with whom there was nothing he could do that was not right. How and in what fashion did he return from thence? On leaving Egypt he visited the furthest Gaul before his home. But what was his home? for in those days every man was in possession of his own home, and yet nowhere was one owned by you. Home do I say? What spot was there in the world where you could plant your foot on your own property, except a single estate in Misenum, farmed, like the cinnabar mines at Sisapo, by a joint-stock company in which you held a share.

You came from Gaul to be a candidate for the quæstorship. Tell me, if you dare to say it, that you went to your own father's house before you came to mine. I had previously received a letter from Cæsar, begging that I would accept your overtures of reconciliation; and so I did not even allow you to mention such a thing as obligation. Subsequently I was courted by you; you were countenanced by me in your canvass for the quæstorship. At that time, with the full approbation of the Roman people, you attempted to kill Publius Clodius in the Forum, and although you made the attempt of your own accord, without my instigation, yet you declared that you did not think you could ever atone for your mis-

deeds towards me, except by killing him. And this makes me wonder why you should say that I instigated Milo to kill Clodius, though when you were for doing just the same in deference to me you received no stimulus at my hands. And yet, if you were to persevere, I thought it well that the exploit should be placed to the credit of your honour rather than of gratitude to me.

You were elected quæstor; thereupon, immediately, without a decree of the senate, without drawing lots, without the sanction of any law, you ran off to the camp of Cæsar; for, having squandered all your resources, you considered that to be the only possible refuge for your want, your debts, and your iniquities. There, if we may apply the term to what you intend immediately to disgorge, you filled yourself full of what he gave you, and what you stole yourself; and then, once more a beggar, you swooped upon the tribuneship, in order that in that office you might, if you could, prove worthy of your alliance with Gaius Curio.

21.

Next, my lords, I will beg of you to listen not to the impurity and intemperance by which he injured himself and his own honour, but to the treason and iniquities of which he was guilty against us and our fortunes, in other words against the state; for you will find that all our misfortunes had their beginning in the crimes of Antonius. For, when on January 1, in the consulship of Lucius Lentulus and Gaius Marcellus, you were anxious to prop up the republic, already tottering to its fall, and were willing to consider Cæsar's own interests, had he chosen to show himself a loyal citizen, Antonius set his tribuneship in the way of your designs, having transferred it for a consideration to his master, and placed his own neck under the axe, which has proved fatal to many men for less offences. The senate, before the extinction of so many of its lights, in full possession of its powers, passed against you, Marcus Antonius, the decree which our ancestors were wont to pass against an enemy within the city walls. And have you dared to assail me before the senate, though you have been pronounced by this House to be an enemy of the state, and

I to be its saviour? If men have ceased to talk about that crime of yours, they have not erased it from their memories. While the race of man, while the name of the Roman people shall continue to exist, and that, if you allow it, will exist for ever, your fatal veto will be spoken of. What was the senate doing either from interested motives, or without sufficient thought, when you, a single youth, prevented the whole body of senators from passing a decree involving the safety of the state, and that not once but several times? Nor would you allow the opening of any negotiations with yourself about upholding the authority of this House. And all the time, while neither the entreaties of the chief men in the state, nor the advice of your seniors, nor negotiations of a crowded senate, could deter you from giving a venal vote in favour of the highest bidder, the only object was that you should consent not utterly to destroy the state. Then, after many expedients had been tried, a blow was dealt to you which has been directed against very few before, and never without fatal consequences. Then it was that this House placed arms against you in the hands of the consuls and the other military and civil magistrates, and you only escaped by taking refuge in the camp of Cæsar.

It was you, Antonius, yes, you, I say, who first gave Gaius Cæsar a pretext for indulging his desire of a general revolution, by waging war against his country. For what other pretext did he allege? What reason did he assign for his extravagant policy and conduct, except that the veto of the tribunes had been disregarded, their privileges taken away, and Antonius hampered by the senate in the exercise of his power? I say nothing of the falsehood or the worthlessness of these pretences, especially as no one can be justified by any cause in levying war against his country. But I say nothing of Cæsar; you at least cannot deny that an excuse for a most fatal war was found in you. O, wretched man that you are, if you know what all this means! more wretched still if you do not perceive that

22.

this is committed to writing and handed down to posterity, and that so it will be known through all succeeding generations to the end of time, that the consuls were expelled from Rome, and with them Gnaeus Pompeius, the light and glory of the Roman people; that all the consulars whose health allowed them to accomplish that disastrous flight, all the prætors, ex-prætors, tribunes of the commons, with a great part of the senate, and all the flower of our youth—in a word, that all the state was driven out beyond the borders of its home. As then the seed contains the germ of trees and plants, so you were the seed of this most mournful war. You grieve, my lords, that three armies of the Roman people were destroyed. Antonius was their destroyer. You mourn the loss of the noblest of your citizens. Antonius caused the loss. The authority of this House was crushed. It was Antonius who crushed it. Everything, in short, which we have since experienced—and what kind of evil does this not comprise?—we shall, if we view the case aright, set down entirely to Antonius. He has been to our state what Helen was to Troy, a cause of war, a cause of ruin and destruction. The rest of his tribuneship was of a piece with its beginning. He did everything which the senate had rendered impossible without the ruin of the constitution. But, further, see how he committed crime within crime!

23.

He restored to their privileges many who had been unfortunate. Among the number he made no mention of his uncle, Gaius Antonius. If he was stern, why not be stern towards all? If mercy could be shown, why not include his relatives? But I say nothing of the rest; he restored Licinius Denticula, his companion at the gaming table, who had been condemned for gambling, apparently as though he might not gamble with a convict; really that he might liquidate his gambling debts by a law in favour of his creditor. What reason could you produce before the Roman people why Denticula should be restored? He was prosecuted, I suppose, in his absence; the matter was decided without his being heard in his defence; the law

authorised no criminal proceedings for the offence of gambling; he was crushed by force of arms; or lastly, as was said in the case of your uncle, the verdict was gained by bribery. No, none of these? Well, then, he was a good man and a worthy citizen. That is nothing to the point indeed; but since men's condemnation in a court of law counts as nothing, I could admit a plea like that. But when a man restores to all his rights the most abandoned of his fellows, one who would not hesitate to play dice in the very Forum, one who has duly been condemned by an existing law against gambling, does not such an one declare his own bias in the very plainest terms? Then in this same tribuneship, when Cæsar on his departure for Spain had given Italy to Antonius to trample under foot, in what style he traversed all the roads, and made a progress through the borough towns! I know that I am dealing with matters which formed a general topic of conversation, and that all that I am now saying, and all that I shall presently relate, is better known to all who were in Italy at the time than to myself who was abroad; yet I will just mention the several points, though what I say cannot in any degree come up to what you know. For when was such wickedness, such baseness, such dishonour ever heard of as existing in the world?

He, a tribune of the commons, drove like a woman in a barbarian carriage, preceded by lictors crowned as though in honour of a victory. Among them was a *mimic*¹ actress carried in an open litter, whom honourable citizens from the borough towns, coming out under compulsion to meet him, were addressing, not by her familiar stage name, but as Volumnia. A chariot load of panders followed, a most infamous suite; his neglected mother was in attendance on the mistress of her profligate son, as though she had been his wife. How disastrous was it that the wretched woman ever had a son! With the traces of such wickedness did he thus im-

24.

¹ i.e. One who acted in the *mimi*, a kind of burlesque farce, always trivial, commonly indecent and obscene.

press all the boroughs and garrison towns and colonies, and in short the whole of Italy.

To criticize the rest of his career, my lords, is difficult indeed and dangerous. He occupied himself with war; he deluged himself with the blood of citizens most unlike himself: he was prosperous, if there can be such a thing as prosperity in crime. But since we wish to maintain the interests of the veterans, though the cases are not strictly parallel—they followed their leader, you sought one for yourself—yet that you may not bring me into disfavour with them, I will say nothing of the character of the war. You returned in triumph with your army from Thessaly to Brundisium. There you abstained from killing me. A mighty service in good truth! for I confess you might have done it, though there was not one of your companions at the time who did not think it right to spare my life. For so great is the natural love of fatherland, that even your legions held my person to be sacred, because they called to mind that I had been its saviour. But grant that you gave me what you did not take away, and that I owe my life to you, because I did not lose it at your hands, did not your abuse render it impossible for me to continue showing that I recognised your kindness, especially as you saw that such must be my answer?

25.

You came to Brundisium, into the arms of your actress. What is the matter? is it not true? How degrading it is not to be able to deny what it is most disgraceful to confess! If you felt no shame in the presence of the borough towns, could you face your veterans without a blush? for which of the soldiers can have failed to see her at Brundisium? who did not know that she had taken a journey of so many days to wish you joy? who was not grieved that he had been so long in finding out how bad a man he had been following? Again he made a progress through Italy with the same actress in his train, quartering his soldiers for the winter on the towns with cruel disregard for their sufferings, while at Rome he made a shameful raid on gold and silver, and above all on wine. The next step was that

during Cæsar's absence at Alexandria, and without his knowledge, he was appointed master of the horse through the influence of the dictator's friends. Then he considered that in virtue of his office he might fairly live with Hippias,¹ and give the tribute horses to the *mimic* actor Sergius. At that time he had selected as his place of residence, not the house which he has at present such difficulty in retaining, but that of Marcus Piso. But why should I dwell upon his decrees, his robberies, the inheritances which he gave to his adherents, or seized from their lawful owners? It was want of money which compelled him; he knew not where to turn his steps; he had not yet received his large inheritance from Lucius Rubrius, or Lucius Turselius; he had not yet succeeded as heir with such rapidity to the property of Pompeius and many others who were abroad. His only chance of living was in robber-fashion—to have whatever he could steal.

But all this we may pass over, as betokening a hardier kind of villany: let us speak rather of the most degrading class of his misdemeanours. With your capacious swallow, your vast stomach, your gladiator-like strength of frame, you had consumed such quantities of wine at the marriage-feast of Hippias, that you could not help puking on the following day in the presence of the Roman people. It was a thing to make one blush at hearing it, to say nothing of beholding it. If it had happened to you at supper in the midst of your enormous draughts, who could fail to think it scandalous? But he, in an assembly of the people of Rome, in the midst of public business, being master of the horse, who might not even belch without disgrace, actually filled his own lap and the whole tribunal with the fragments, reeking with wine, of what he had eaten over night. But this he confesses himself to be one of the things of which he is ashamed: let us proceed to his more noble acts.

Cæsar returned from Alexandria, happy in his own

26

¹ The play on the word Hippias, derived from ἵππος, a horse, is untranslatable.

estimation; but, in my opinion, no one can be happy who is the enemy of the state. The goods of Gnaeus Pompeius were exposed to public auction before the temple of Jupiter Stator—forgive a sigh, for even when I have wept away my tears, the grief remains deep-rooted in my heart—the goods, I say, of Gnaeus Pompeius the Great were put up for sale by the merciless voice of the auctioneer. The state, for once forgetting its captivity, could not repress a groan, and though their hearts were enslaved amid the general fear, the Roman people's groan was free. While all were waiting to see who would be so unfeeling, so mad, so utterly at enmity with gods and men, as to venture on the crime of buying up such goods, no one was found except Antonius, and that though so many were present at the auction who were bold enough for anything else; Antonius alone was found to venture on the deed. Were you so possessed with stupidity, or, to say the truth, with madness, as to be unaware that, in the first place as degrading your birth by such a trade, and then as buying up the goods of such a man, you were incurring the curses and hatred of the Roman people, the lasting enmity of gods and men alike? But with what contempt for public opinion did the glutton take possession without delay of the property of a man whose valour had made the name of Rome more awful in the ears of foreigners, while his justice had endeared it to their hearts!

27. Having then all at once begun to wallow in the property thus obtained, he was overcome with joy, like the man in the farce when raised from poverty to sudden wealth. But, as some poet says, ill-gotten gain never thrives. You would scarcely believe it, so like a judgment from heaven does it seem, were I to tell you in how few months, or rather days, he squandered all that property. There was a vast stock of wine, a great weight of beautifully-wrought plate, a costly wardrobe, quantities of rich and splendid furniture in several places, not enough to stamp the man as luxurious, but sufficiently betokening affluence: of all this in a few

days there was nothing left. What Charybdis was ever so voracious? Charybdis do I say? which, if it ever existed, was but a single animal: in faith, it scarcely seems to me that Ocean itself could have swallowed up so speedily so many things, of such various descriptions, and in such distant localities. Nothing was locked, sealed, or labelled. Whole stores of wine were given away in presents to the vilest of mankind. Some things were carried off by actors, others by actresses. The house was crammed full of gamblers and drunkards; drinking bouts went on for whole days, and that in many places at once: and to this was often added loss at play, for his luck at times deserted him. In the garrets of the slaves you might see the beds covered with the rich purple draperies of Gnaeus Pompeius. And so you need no longer wonder that the whole was so soon exhausted; for such extravagance would soon have swallowed up not only the patrimony of a single man, though on the largest scale like that in question, but whole cities and kingdoms. But he went on to swallow up the house and pleasure-grounds. O monstrous impudence! Did you even dare to place your foot within that house? to pass within that holiest of thresholds? to let your vile face be seen by the household gods that guard that house? For some time past no one could look upon the house, or pass it without tears, and were not you ashamed to make it your haunt for such a length of time? especially as nothing within its walls can be congenial to you, however void of sense you are.

Do you think that you are entering your own house, when you see the trophies of ships' beaks before its door? It is impossible. For devoid of intellect and feeling though you be, yet you know yourself and your friends and what belongs to you. And yet I do not believe that you can ever be at ease in your mind, whether awake or asleep. Frantic lunatic though you be, yet when the phantom of so remarkable a man presents itself to your gaze, you must inevitably start in terror from your sleep, and even in your waking moments must be often driven

mad. For my part, I pity the very walls and roof of the house. For what had that house ever witnessed except what was pure, and founded on the best morals and the holiest training. Its owner was a man, my lords, as you well know, distinguished indeed abroad but claiming admiration equally at home, and deserving no less praise for the arrangements of his household than for his exploits in the field. Now in his home each bedroom is a brothel, each dining-room an eating-house. Although at the present moment he denies it; do not ask any questions—he has become a reformed character; he has formally divorced his actress wife, given her back her dowry, taken away her keys as the laws of the twelve tables direct, and turned her out of doors. What an exemplary citizen he must be! how successfully he has passed through every scrutiny! when in his whole life you can find nothing more honourable than this, that he has put away from him a *mimic* actress. Again, how often he uses the expression, ‘both consul and Antonius,’ as though to say, ‘both consul and the essence of impurity,’ ‘both consul and the model of all wickedness.’ For what other meaning has this word Antonius? Had indeed any moral worth been implied by the name, I suppose your grandfather would sometimes have styled himself ‘both consul and Antonius,’ and so would my colleague, your uncle, unless it be that you are the only true Antonius. But passing over all the faults that do not bear upon the policy with which you harassed the republic, I return to your own proper work, to the civil war that is, which was called into existence, arranged, and carried on through you.

29. From taking any actual share in the war you were debarred, partly by your cowardice, even more by your debauchery. You had previously tasted, or rather drunk deeply, of the blood of fellow-citizens; you had fought in the front rank in the field of Pharsalia; you had slain Lucius Domitius, a very noble and distinguished man, and, after a most cruel pursuit, had murdered many other fugitives, whom Cæsar would probably

have added to the list of those he spared. After so many exploits of such brilliance, what reason had you for not following Cæsar into Africa, especially as so great a portion of the war remained? And, consequently, what place did you occupy with Cæsar himself on his return from Africa? of what account were you? Having been his quæstor when he was in command of an army, his master of the horse when he was dictator, the prime mover of his civil war, the instigator of his cruelty, a partaker in his plunder, his son, according to your own account, by adoption in his will, you were summoned by him to give account of the money which you owed for the house, the pleasure-grounds, the property which you had bought up at the sale. At first you answered savagely enough; and that I may not appear to be against you in everything, I must allow that there was much fairness and justice in what you said. 'Gaius Cæsar ask money from me? Why sooner than I from him? Did he gain his victory without me? That was simply impossible. I brought him an excuse for civil war; I proposed disastrous laws; I took up arms against the consuls and generals of the Roman people, against the senate and the people itself, against the gods of my country and our altars and hearths, against my fatherland. Was his victory for himself alone? When two men share the crime, are they not to share the plunder too?' Your demands were only fair, but what had that to do with it? The power was on his side. Accordingly, having shaken himself free from your outcry, he sent soldiers to you and to your sureties, when suddenly you brought out that famous catalogue of your sale. How men did laugh! that there should be so long a catalogue, such a list of such various properties, of which not one, except a share in the farm at Misenum, could really be claimed as his own by the man who offered them for sale. The auction itself was a miserable sight: a small remnant of Pompeius' wardrobe, and that all stained with dirt; some damaged silver cups of his, and a few slaves in mean apparel, so that we all grieved that anything was

left which had belonged to him to sadden our eyes. Yet, such as it was, the auction was stopped by the heirs of Lucius Rubrius, acting under Cæsar's warrant. The spendthrift was at a loss; he knew not where to turn. Just at this very time an assassin, acting under his directions, was said to have been caught in Cæsar's house with a dagger in his hand; of which Cæsar openly made a complaint against you in the senate. Cæsar then goes to Spain, having granted you a few days' extension of time for payment of the money, in consideration of your want of means. You do not follow him even then. Had so good a gladiator retired so soon from the arena? Can anyone, therefore, feel afraid of one who has shown such cowardice in following out his own policy, that is, in looking after his own interests?

30. At length he did set out for Spain, but could not get there, as he says, in safety. How then did Dolabella make his way? Either, Antonius, you should never have embraced that cause, or, having embraced it, you should have maintained it to the end. Thrice Cæsar fought a battle with his fellow-citizens, in Thessaly, in Africa, in Spain. In all these battles Dolabella took a part; in Spain he even received a wound. If you ask my opinion, I had rather he had not been there; but if his line of conduct from the outset is to be blamed, at least his constancy merits praise; but you are neither one thing nor the other. The sons of Gnaeus Pompeius were then re-seeking, in the first place, their country. I do not think so much of this; so far, in not resisting them, we may suppose it was your party's cause you were abandoning; but, besides this, they were re-seeking the gods of their country, their altars and hearths, the tutelary deities of their home, and all that you had seized on for your own. When these things were sought in battle by men whose property they already were by law, although it is absurd to talk of fairness in things so palpably unjust, yet whom did common fairness call upon to fight against the sons of Gnaeus Pompeius?

On whom? Why, on you, who had bought up the property. Was Dolabella to be fighting on your behalf in Spain, while you were befouling the tables of your hosts at Narbo?

But how did he return from Narbo? He went so far as to ask why I turned back so suddenly in the midst of my expedition. I explained the other day, my lords, the cause of my return. I wished, if possible, to be of service to the state even before the beginning of the new year. For as to your question about the fashion of my return, to begin with, it was in broad daylight, not in the dark; and next, I was in the full dress of a Roman, in toga and boots, not in Gallic slippers or a riding cloak. And yet you keep looking at me, and, as it seems, with angry glances. I feel sure that you would take me into favour again, if you knew how ashamed I feel of your misconduct, which causes you no shame at all. Of all the crimes recorded in the world, I never saw or heard of any worse. You, who imagined yourself a master of the horse, who were standing for, or rather, begging for the consulship in the ensuing year, hurried in slippers and a riding cloak through the borough towns and provinces of Gaul, which we used to canvass for the consulship in the days when it was claimed on public grounds, not begged for as a personal favour.

But see the trifling of the man. Having reached Saxa Rubra about four o'clock, he took refuge in a roadside inn, and, hiding there, continued drinking till the evening; then driving rapidly to the city in a gig, he came to his house with his head wrapped in his mantle. Says the porter, 'Who is there?' 'A messenger from Marcus.' He is at once taken to his wife, whom he had come to see, and gives her a letter. When she had read it with tears—for it was written in very loving style, and the purport of the letter was that he would have nothing to do for the future with the actress; that he had transferred all his love from her to Fulvia;—when she, I say, was weeping copiously, the tender-hearted man could bear it no longer; he

31.

uncovered his head and fell upon her neck. O, the wickedness of the man! for what else can I call it? there is nothing more appropriate that I can say of him. For no other reason than that your wife might have the un hoped-for pleasure of seeing a scoundrel like you, showing yourself when you were least expected, you disturbed the city with a night alarm, and Italy with apprehension lasting many days. And at home, indeed, you had the plea of love to urge; but abroad one even less creditable, that Lucius Plancus might not sell up your sureties. But when you were brought before a public meeting by the tribunes of the commons, and accounted for your return on the ground of urgent private affairs, you made the very people witty at your expense. But we have dwelt too long on trifles; let us pass to grave matters.

32.

When Gaius Cæsar was returning from Spain you went a long way to meet him. You went and returned at full speed, to let him see that if you were lacking in courage it was not for want of energy. You were readmitted in some mysterious way to his confidence. This was exactly Cæsar's way. If he knew anyone to be absolutely overwhelmed with debt and in distress for want of money, provided only that he was a daring villain, he admitted him without hesitation to his friendship. As then you had such strong recommendations in your favour, he ordered that you should be returned as consul, and that as colleague to himself. I make no complaint on behalf of Dolabella, who, on this occasion, was excited with the hope of being consul, induced to stand, and then left in the lurch. The amount of treachery that both of you displayed towards him is matter of common notoriety. Cæsar induced him to become a candidate, and after promising it to him and guaranteeing his success, he stepped in and appropriated it for himself. You endorsed his treachery with your assent. The 1st of January comes; we are driven into the senate, when Dolabella inveighed against Antonius with a much more ready flow of words than mine to-day. But what did Antonius say, good heavens, in his passion? To

begin with, when Cæsar made it plain that before he left Italy he would order Dolabella to be made consul ;— the man, mark you, who though he was always doing and saying something of the kind, they say, was not a king ;—however, when Cæsar said this, this exemplary augur declared that he was invested with a sacred office of such authority ; that he could use the auspices either to prevent the election being held or to make it null and void, and this he maintained that he would do. And here, in the first place, mark the inconceivable stupidity of the man. For just consider. Would you have been less able, to do what you professed that your sacred office entitled you to do, if you had been consul without being augur ? Probably you might have done it with even less difficulty. For we augurs have only the right of reporting on the auspices, the consuls and the other magistrates the further right of considering the report. But never mind ; this showed incompetence. Yet still we cannot expect to find a man guarded at all points who is never sober. But look at his impudence. Many months before the election, he declared in this House that he would either use the auspices to stop the election of Dolabella, or would do what in the end he did. Now, can anyone foretell what defect there will be in auspices, except a man who has determined to look for omens in the heavens ? But this practice is forbidden at elections by the laws, and if anyone has adopted it notwithstanding, he ought to make his report, not at the end of the election, but before it has begun. But his ignorance is combined with impudence ; he neither knows what an augur ought to know, nor acts as is becoming in a modest man. And so recall to mind his whole consulship from that day up to the Ides of March. What beadle was ever so humble, so abject ? He could do nothing of himself ; everything was to be asked for ; putting his head into the back of his colleague's litter, he used to ask him for favours, which he then could sell to other men.

But now comes the day of Dolabella's election. The lot is cast which century shall vote first. He remains

quiet. The result is announced, he holds his tongue. The centuries of the first class are summoned to give their votes, these also are announced; then as usual come the centuries of knights; then the second class is called, all of which was done in less time than I have spent in telling it. When all is over, our excellent augur (you would say it was Gaius Laelius himself) proclaims the adjournment of the election. What marvellous impudence! What had you seen? What had you felt? What had you heard? For you did not say that you had been looking for omens in the sky, nor do you to-day say this. The fault, then, actually occurred which you had foreseen on January 1, and had prophesied all that time before. And so, by Hercules, you falsified the auspices, to the great injury of yourself, I trust, rather than of the republic; you bound the Roman people by a religious obligation; as augur, you brought the auspices to bear against an augur, as consul against a consul. I will say no more, lest I should seem to nullify the acts of Dolabella, which must some day be referred to our college to decide on their validity. But listen to the presumption and insolence of the man! So long as you please, there is a fault in his election. Again, when you please, it was duly sanctioned by the auspices. If there is nothing in the augur making his report in the words which you employed, then confess that you were drunk when you proclaimed the adjournment of the election. But if those words convey a meaning, then, as an augur, I ask my colleague what it is.

34

But that I may not amid the multitude of his exploits pass over the very fairest action of his life, let us come to the Lupercalia. He does not hide his feelings, my lords: he is evidently moved, he perspires, he turns pale. Let him do anything, if he only is not sick, as he was in the portico of Minucius. How can he defend such scandalous behaviour? I am anxious to hear, that I may see what return we have for all that he paid his lecturer, that is to say, what we have to show for the land at Leontini. Your colleague was sitting in the rostra, in a purple toga, on a golden throne, with

a laurel crown upon his head. You mount the rostra, you approach his throne ;—Lupercus as you were, you should have remembered that you were a consul too ;—you hold out a royal diadem. The whole Forum echoes with a groan. Again and again you tried to place it on his brow, amid the hooting of the people ; he as often put it from him with their applause. You therefore, wretched man, you who are responsible for the kingdom, were alone found willing to have your colleague for your king, and to try how much the Roman people could endure. You did not stop there. You tried to move his compassion ; you threw yourself as a suppliant at his feet. And what was your petition ? for leave to be a slave ? You might ask it if you would for yourself, who had lived from boyhood such a life that nothing comes amiss to you, not even slavery : you certainly had no such commission from us or from the Roman people. How splendid was your eloquence, in your harangue without your clothes ? What could be more scandalous ? more indecent ? more deserving of the severest punishment than this ? Are you waiting for literal stirring with a goad ? If you have any remaining sense of decency, you must be wounded to the heart by what I say. I cannot but fear that I am touching the honour of some distinguished men, but my sorrow forces me to speak. What can be more humiliating than that he who proffered the diadem should be still alive, whilst he who rejected it is universally acknowledged to have been deservedly put to death ? But he even ordered the occurrence to be recorded in the archives of the state under the heading *Lupercalia* ; to the effect that Marcus Antonius, at the bidding of the people, offered the kingdom to Gaius Cæsar, perpetual dictator, and that Cæsar would not accept the offer. I am now not much surprised that you are discomposed by peace ; that you hate not only the city, but the light of day ; that you live with the most abandoned ruffians, regardless alike of the work of the present and the wants of the future. For where will you find safe footing in a time of peace ? what place can there be

for you while law reigns in her courts, which you have done your best to overthrow by establishing despotic rule? Was it for this that Lucius Tarquinius was driven from the realm, that Spurius Cassius, Spurius Maelius, and Lucius Manlius were slain, that many ages afterwards, in violation of all right, a king should be set up by Marcus Antonius at Rome?

35. But to return to the auspices, about which Cæsar was intending to raise a question in the senate on the Ides of March. In that case, tell me, what would you have done? I heard indeed that you had come down to the House with your statement all ready, understanding that I should make a speech about the falsification of the auspices, which nevertheless it was necessary to obey. That day was rendered unavailable by the fortune of the state. Did the death of Cæsar also render void your decision about the auspices? But this brings me to a time which claims precedence of the other matters which I had begun to discuss. How startling was your flight! how complete your terror on that memorable day! how utterly your consciousness of guilt deprived you of all hopes of life! when in your flight you made your way home in secret, through the kindness of those who wished for your safety, if only you would embrace sound views about the state. O how vain have always been my true forebodings of the future! I told our saviours in the Capitol, when they wished me to go to you, to exhort you to defend the republic, that so long as you were alarmed you would promise anything; as soon as you had ceased to fear, you would become your old self. Accordingly, whilst the other consulars were going backwards and forwards, I adhered to my opinion: I neither saw you on that day nor on the next, nor did I believe that any alliance could be established on any terms between the most loyal of citizens and their most unscrupulous foe. Two days afterwards I came into the temple of Tellus, unwillingly enough, seeing that all its entrances were beset by troops. What a day was that for you! Al-

though you have suddenly proved yourself my enemy, yet I am sorry for you, that you have grudged yourself the fame you then achieved.

What a man, good gods, what a hero you would have been, had you been able to maintain the spirit of that day! We should now be in enjoyment of the peace which was then made through a hostage of noble birth, the youthful grandson of Marcus the Stammerer. However, the cause of your loyalty was fear, no lasting monitor of duty; while your worthlessness springs from that audacity which is ever present with you while you are free from fear. And even then, when all except myself supposed you to be absolutely loyal, you presided in the most scandalous manner at the tyrant's funeral, if funeral it could be called. Yours was then the noble panegyric, yours the lamentation, yours the exhortation; you, you, I say, fired the torches on that day, both those by which the body of the tyrant was scorched, and those by which the house of Lucius Bel-lienus was set on fire and consumed. You set those abandoned men, the most part of them slaves, to make the attacks on our homes which we repelled by force of arms. And yet on the ensuing days, as though you had wiped the soot away, you passed noble decrees of the senate, to the effect that after the Ides of March no proclamation should be issued conferring exemptions from taxation or any other privilege. You remember yourself about the exiles, you know what you said about exemptions. But the best thing was that you abolished the name of dictator for ever in the state, and so showed that you had contracted such an absolute hatred for the dictatorship, that on account of the fear inspired by the last dictator, you entirely removed its very name. It seemed to other men that the republic was established, but by no means so to me, who feared every kind of shipwreck so long as you were at the helm. And was I deceived in him? Could he continue longer so unlike himself? Under your very eyes the Capitol was placarded with proclamations, and

36.

exemptions were openly sold not only to individuals, but to whole states: the citizenship was given not to one here and to another there, but to entire provinces. Therefore, if these measures stand—and stand they cannot while the constitution lasts—then, my lords, you have lost whole provinces; and not your revenues alone, but the very empire of the Roman people has been impaired by the market at his house.

37. Where are the six million pounds which are in the accounts in the temple of Ops? The money was stained indeed with blood, but still, as it was not restored to its proper owners, it might have saved us from an income tax. And how came you before the 1st of April to be free from the debt of 360,000*l.* which you owed upon the Ides of March? There is indeed no end to the number of decrees which were purchased from your friends, not without your complicity; but one of more than usual extravagance was posted in the Capitol concerning king Deiotarus, the firm friend of the Roman people, on the proposal of which there was no one who could restrain his laughter, even in the midst of grief. For who was a bitterer foe to anyone than Cæsar to Deiotarus? just as bitter as he was to this House, to the knights, to the people of Marseilles, in short, to everyone whom he knew to be attached to the constitution of the Roman people. And so Deiotarus became a favourite with a dead man, from whom in life he had never obtained anything that was just or good, either in his presence or in his absence. Cæsar had sent for him when staying in his house, had gone into his accounts, had required money at his hands, had placed one of his own Greek followers in his tetrarchy, had taken away Armenia, which had been given him by the senate. These he took away in life: he restored them after he was dead. But in what terms? At one moment he says, 'It appears to me fair;' at another, 'I think it not unfair.' A strange combination of words. But Cæsar, as I know, from always representing Deiotarus in his absence, never acknowledged that anything seemed fair to him which we demanded on Deio-

tarus' behalf. A bond for nearly 90,000*l.* was signed in the women's apartments, where so many things have been sold, and still are being sold. And this was done through the king's envoys, good men enough, but timid and inexperienced, without obtaining my advice, or that of any other of his friends. And I recommend you to consider very carefully what you mean to do about that bond. For the king himself, of his own accord, without any of Cæsar's note-books, as soon as he heard of Cæsar's death, recovered his property by his own sword. He was wise enough to know that this has always been the law, that whatever tyrants had seized might, on the tyrant's death, be recovered by those from whom it had been seized. No lawyer, therefore, not even he who has you for his only client, and who is your agent in all this, says that such a bond can make a man your debtor for what was recovered before its date; for he did not buy it from you, but took possession for himself, before you sold him what already was his own. He was indeed a man; but we deserve contempt, who, hating the author of the acts, maintain the acts themselves.

What shall I say of the endless note-books, or the countless autographs? which are even hawked about the streets, by men who offer them openly for sale, as though they were programmes of the gladiators' shows. And accordingly such heaps of money are accumulated at his house, that the coin there is now weighed instead of being counted. And yet how blind is avarice! A proclamation has lately been issued, by which the richest states in Crete have been freed from tribute, and it is ordained that Crete should no longer be a province after the proconsulship of Marcus Brutus. Are you in your sound senses? Should you not be put under restraint? Could Crete have been declared in Cæsar's decree to be restored to independence after Marcus Brutus left it, when, during Cæsar's lifetime, Crete had nothing to do with Brutus? Yet, by the sale of this decree, that you may not think that nothing has been done, you have lost the province of Crete. In fact, there has been nothing whatever which Antonius would

38.

not sell, if only he could find a purchaser. And did Cæsar propose the law which you published about the exiles? I would not be severe on any man's misfortunes: I only complain, in the first place, that a stain is attached to the return of those in whose case Cæsar determined that a distinction should be made; and, secondly, I do not know why you do not grant the same boon to the rest, for there are not more than three or four remaining. Why do not those who are involved in like misfortune enjoy like clemency at your hands? Why do you treat them as you treat your uncle? on whose behalf you would not make a proposal, when proposing the return of all the rest; whom you even urged to be a candidate for the censorship, and concocted a canvass which moved alike the laughter and the indignation of the world. But why did you not hold that election? Was it because a tribune of the commons announced that there was thunder on the left? When your own interests are at stake, then auspices go for nothing; when your friends are concerned, then you learn the importance of religious scruples. What? Did you not again desert him in the commission for the division of the lands? owing to the veto of a man whom you propose you could not set aside with safety to your country. For you loaded with every kind of abuse the very man whom, had you possessed any natural affection, you ought to have been honouring as a father. His daughter, your own cousin, you divorced, having already in your eye another match on which you were resolved. And this was not enough: you made insinuations of misconduct against a woman of unblemished purity. What could one add further? You were not content with this. In a crowded meeting of the senate on January 1, in the presence of your uncle, you ventured to say that your hatred of Dolabella was founded on the fact that you had discovered an intrigue on his part with your cousin and wife. Who can decide whether you were more impudent to make this statement in the senate, or more reckless to make it against such a man as Dolabella, or more indecent, to make it in the presence of

your uncle, or more cruel, to make it with such foulness, such want of natural affection, against your unhappy wife?

But to return to the autographs. What was the nature of your investigation? For in the interests of peace the senate confirmed under the name of Cæsar's acts all that Cæsar might have settled himself, not anything which Antonius declared that he had settled. Whence do all that you produce burst forth upon us? on what authority do they rest? if they are forgeries, why are they ratified? if they are genuine, why is money taken for them? But the resolution was that on June 1 the senate should investigate the acts of Cæsar with the assistance of a committee. Where was your committee? Whom did you ever summon? What was the aspect of that June 1 for which you waited? was it not the day which saw you return with a body-guard of armed men from your progress through the colonies of veterans?

39.

And what a splendid expedition that was which you made in the months of April and May, at the time when you actually tried to plant a colony in Capua! And all know in what fashion you made your way out of that place, or rather almost failed to make your way. And yet you continue to threaten the city. I wish you would try to carry out your threats, that thus we might be able to leave out 'almost!' But what a noble progress it was! Why should I mention the elaborate banquets, the madness of your drinking bouts? These were injuries to yourself; our losses remain to be told. When the land in Campania was exempted from tribute that it might be divided among the veterans, we thought that a great blow was inflicted on the state, but you divided this same land among your fellow-gamblers and your boon companions. Yes, my lords, I say that *mimic* actors, male and female, were planted on our territory in Campania. Why should I now complain about the land at Leontini? And yet the association is natural, since these estates in Campania and at Leontini were formerly considered pre-eminent

in fertility and productiveness among the lands which formed the patrimony of the Roman people. Three thousand acres to his doctor; what would he have had, if he had made you sound? Two thousand to your teacher of rhetoric; what fee would you have given him, had it been possible to make you eloquent? But let us return to your journey and to Italy.

40.

You planted a colony in Casilinum, where Cæsar had founded one before. You consulted me by letter—your question, it is true, referring to Capua—but I should have given the same answer in the case of Casilinum, whether you could legally plant a new colony where an old one already existed. I replied that a new colony could not be legally founded where an old one had been established under due auspices, at least so long as the former one continued to exist; but that new colonists might be added to the list. But you, unable to control your insolence, and upsetting all the rules of auspices, planted a colony in Casilinum, where one had been established only a few years before, going so far as to display your standard, and mark the boundaries with your plough; whose share almost grazed the very gate of Capua, so that you encroached upon the territory of that flourishing colony. After thus upsetting all considerations of religion, you swoop upon the farm at Casinum belonging to the pious and upright Marcus Varro. By what right? with what face? with just the same, you will say, with which you seized upon the farms which belonged to the heirs of Lucius Rubrius, or Lucius Turselius, or upon countless other properties. And if your title rested on an auction, let it stand; let the auction catalogues be sufficient evidence, only let them be Cæsar's, not your own; those which proved your debt, not those by which you wiped it out.

Who, indeed, asserts that Varro's farm at Casinum was ever sold? who ever saw the outward evidence of the sale? who heard the voice of the auctioneer? You say that you sent a man to Alexandria to buy it from Cæsar. It was too much to wait till Cæsar should himself return! But who ever heard that any part of

Varro's property had been given up to spoliation? and yet there was no one whose safety caused more general interest. But suppose that Cæsar even wrote to you to give it back; what words would then suffice for the description of such impudence? Take away for a time those swords which we see before our eyes; then you will understand that there is all the difference in the world between Cæsar's sales and the rashness in which you place your trust; then not only its owner, but any of his friends or neighbours, anyone that has been his guest or agent, will drive you out from that estate.

But how many days you spent in revelry at that villa! Drinking, gambling, vomiting went on from nine o'clock in the morning. The very house itself was sad with 'so different a lord.' And yet in what sense could Antonius be called its lord? but, at any rate, with so different a tenant. For Marcus Varro ever desired it to be the resort of his studies, not of lust. What discussions were formerly held in the house! what thoughts sprang into existence! what treatises were composed! The laws of the Roman people, the annals of our ancestors, the method of all philosophy and learning—each had its turn. But with you for its tenant—its lord you certainly were not—the whole place echoed with the shout of drunken men, the pavements were swimming with wine, the very walls were dripping, youths of gentle birth were associating with the basest minions, harlots with mothers of families. Men came to pay their respects from Casinum, from Interamna, from Aquinum. No one was admitted to an audience. So far you did well; for the ensigns of rank lost all their dignity with a man of such degraded life. When, on his return to Rome, he came near Aquinum, a considerable crowd came out to meet him, as was natural in so populous a borough. Antonius was carried through the town in a covered litter like a corpse. The people of Aquinum acted foolishly, yet they had the excuse of living on the road. What shall we say of the citizens of Anagnia, who, though lying off his road, yet came down their hill to pay their respects

41.

to the consul, as though he still could claim the dignity. You would scarcely believe it, but it rested at the time on only too sufficient evidence, that no one's salutation was returned, and that though he had two Anagninians in his train, Mustela and Laco, one the prince of swash-bucklers, the other of tipplers. Why should I mention the threats and abuse with which he inveighed against the people of Teanum, and harassed the citizens of Puteoli, because they had adopted Brutus and Cassius as their patrons? And this they did with great zeal and judgment, as well as kindness and affection, not through forcible compulsion, as some have adopted you and Basilus, and others like you; men whom none would wish to have as clients, to say nothing of patrons.

42. Meanwhile, during your absence, what a day it was for your colleague, Dolabella, when he overthrew in the Forum the monument which you were wont to contemplate with veneration! On this being told to you, as all your attendants testified, you fainted right away. What happened afterwards I do not know; I suppose that fear and violence prevailed. At any rate, you dragged your colleague down to earth, and made him, if not like yourself, at all events unlike what he had been before.

But in what a way you next returned to Rome! How you threw the whole city into confusion! I could remember the excess of Cinna's power; I had afterwards seen the tyranny of Sulla, and more lately Cæsar reigning as king. There were then perhaps swords amid the crowd, but in no great quantity, and even what were there were hid from view. But look at the barbaric despotism of Antonius. He is followed by a body-guard in regular array. We see litters full of shields in his train. And to these scandals, my lords, we have become quite hardened by our long familiarity with their presence. On June 1, when we wished to meet in this House, as it had been agreed, we were so overwhelmed with fear that we fled at once in all directions. But Antonius, standing in no need of a senate, was not dismayed at anybody's absence, being indeed rather

rejoiced at our departure, which enabled him to carry out his marvellous atrocities. Having maintained the validity of Cæsar's signatures for his own profit, he now overturned Cæsar's laws, and good laws too, that he might give a shock to the stability of the republic. He increased the number of years that provinces might be held, and at the same time, though bound to be the supporter of Cæsar's acts, he rescinded them in matters both of public and of private interest. In public matters nothing is more solemn than a law; in private nothing more sacred than a will. Of laws he abolished some without any public intimation of the fact; to abolish others he published bills to a contrary effect. A will, which has ever been maintained, even in the interests of the lowest citizens, he made of no effect. Statues and pictures, which Cæsar had bequeathed to the people with his gardens, he carried off, partly to the villa of Pompeius, partly to the country house of Scipio.

And are you then jealous for the memory of Cæsar? Do you still love him, now that he is dead? What greater honour had he obtained than to have a couch with his image on it at the 'lectisternium,'¹ a temple with a pediment, a special priest to do him service? As therefore Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus have each his special priest, so Marcus Antonius is priest to Julius of blessed memory. Why then this delay? Why are you not inaugurated? Choose a day; look out for some one to inaugurate you. You belong to our college; no one will refuse you. O! accursed wretch, whether as a priest of Cæsar, or as priest of a dead man, I ask you whether you are aware what day it is to-day! Do you not know that yesterday was the fourth day of the Roman games in the Circus? And that you yourself proposed the addition of a fifth day in honour of Cæsar? Why are we not in our official robes? Why do we allow an honour rendered to Cæsar by your law to be unobserved? Is it that while permitting public thanks-

43.

¹ Lectisternium, a festival at Rome in which the images of the gods were arranged on couches, as banquetters partaking of the sacrifices offered in their honour.

givings to be profaned, by allowing one in honour of a dead man, you respect the 'lectisternium' too much to allow a mortal to encroach upon it? Either do away with all religious scruples, or respect them everywhere. You ask whether I am satisfied that there should be this couch, this temple, this special priest. I indeed am satisfied with none of them; but you, who maintain the acts of Cæsar, what reason can you urge why you maintain some and disregard others? unless indeed you are willing to acknowledge that you measure everything by the standard of your own advantage, not of Cæsar's honour. What answer have you after all to this? I am waiting for your eloquence. I knew your grandfather as a consummate orator, but we have seen that you show even less reserve. He never made a naked harangue to the people; you, a simple-hearted man, have shown us your breast without disguise. Will you make any answer at all? Will you dare so much as to open your mouth? Can you find anything in all my long speech to which you can reply with confidence?

44.

But enough of the past. Defend if you can the proceedings of this one single day; nay, of this very moment at which I speak. Why are we surrounded with a belt of armed men? Why are your followers listening to me sword in hand? Why are we sitting with closed doors in the temple of Concord? Why do you bring down into the Forum men of all nations, and especially barbarians, Ituræans armed with bows? He says he does it to protect himself. Is it not then a thousand times better to die outright than to be unable to live in one's own city without the protection of an armed body-guard? And that, believe me, is no protection at all. You ought to be shielded by the love and kindly feeling of your fellow-citizens, not by force of arms. The Roman people will wrest them from your hands. I only pray that it may be before we are destroyed. But, however you may deal with us, so long as you are guided by your present counsels, believe me, you have not any chance of lasting long. For your most liberal of wives, whom I name with all respect,

has been too long in paying to the Roman people the third instalment of her debt. The Roman people has men whom she can trust with the helm of the republic, and wherever they may be, there is all the safety of the state; nay, I may rather say, the commonwealth itself, which hitherto has taken vengeance for its wrongs, but has not recovered its position. The state has indeed most noble youths prepared for its defence; however far they may retire in the interests of peace, they are sure to be recalled. Peace indeed is both sweet in name and wholesome in reality; but there is all the difference in the world between peace and slavery. Peace is the calmness of freedom, slavery the worst of all evils, to be kept off at the cost not only of war, but even of life itself. But if our saviours have withdrawn from our sight, yet they have left us the example of what they have achieved. Their deed is such as no one else had ever done. Brutus waged war against Tarquinius, who was king when kings were permitted by the laws of Rome. Spurius Manlius, Spurius Cassius, Marcus Manlius, were put to death because they were suspected of aiming at the kingdom. These men were the first to attack no mere aspirant to the throne, but an actually reigning king, with sword in hand. And this deed is not only noble and godlike in itself, but it is set forth for our imitation, especially as they gained by it such glory as heaven itself can scarce contain. For although a noble deed bears sufficient fruit in the approval of conscience, yet I cannot think that any mortal should despise immortal fame.

Remember, therefore, Antonius, that day on which you abolished the dictatorship; set before your eyes the joy of the senate and the Roman people, compare it with this monstrous trafficking carried on by you and yours; then you will understand the difference between gain and praise. But the fact is that as some persons, through illness or dulness of the senses, cannot taste the sweetness of their food, so the profligate and avaricious and criminal have no appreciation of true praise. But if praise cannot induce you to do what is right, cannot

45.

even fear withdraw you from the foulest deeds? You have no fear of the courts of justice. If that is owing to your innocence, I praise you for it; if to your violence, you do not understand what that man has to fear, who has this reason for not fearing courts of law. But if you do not fear brave men and distinguished citizens, because they are prevented from attacking you by force of arms, believe me that your own followers will not bear with you much longer. And how can you call it life to be in perpetual fear of danger, night and day, from adherents of your own? unless, indeed, you either have them bound to you by greater obligations than Cæsar had some of those by whom he was slain, or are yourself in any way to be compared with him. In Cæsar there was genius and method, memory, literary culture, consideration, thoughtfulness, industry; his exploits in war, though ruinous to his country, were undeniably great; having contemplated being a king for many years, he had accomplished his designs at the cost of much toil and many dangers; he had conciliated the ignorant multitude with gladiatorial shows, with the erection of public buildings, with largesses, with feasts; he had bound his own followers to him with rewards, his opponents with a show of clemency; he had already rendered slavery familiar to a free state, partly by fear, partly by patience.

46. You I can compare with him in respect of your lust for sovereign power, but that is the only point of comparison between you. But amid all the many evils which he has branded on the state, this good result there is, that the Roman people has now learned how far each man deserves its confidence, to whom it may entrust itself, of whom it should beware. Do you not consider this? Do you not understand that it is enough for brave men to have learned what a noble act they do, what gratitude they earn, what fame they win in slaying a tyrant? When men have found it impossible to bear Cæsar, will they put up with you? Nay, believe me, men will presently hasten in eager rivalry

to this deed, and will not wait till an opportunity tardily presents itself.

Turn then your eyes, Antonius—late though it be, I pray you turn your eyes upon the state. Consider who your parents were, not who they are with whom you live. With me deal as you please, but seek a reconciliation with the state. What you will do I leave you to determine; I will make my profession for myself. I defended the republic in my youth; I will not desert it in old age. I despised the sword of Catiline; I will not be dismayed at yours. Nay, I will willingly give up my life, if by my death the liberty of the state can be presently secured, and if the grief of the Roman people may at length bring forth what it has so long ago conceived. For if I said some twenty years ago in this very temple, that death could never overtake a consular before his time, with how much more truth may I repeat the same in my old age! I now, my lords, may even wish for death, considering the honours which I have attained and the exploits which I have achieved. Two things alone I still desire: one, that in my death I may leave the Roman people free—no greater boon than this can be given me by the gods above; the other, that each of us may meet the fate which his services to the state deserve.

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE THIRD ORATION.



ON the publication of the second oration, Antonius found that the popular indignation against him was too strong to let him stay in Rome, and being unable to recover the allegiance of his troops at Alba, he set out for Cisalpine Gaul at the head of the legions which remained under his command, with the object of seizing that province from Decimus Brutus.

On December 20 the tribunes of the commons called a meeting of the senate for some formal business, and Cicero took the opportunity of delivering the third Philippic.

It is mainly an invective against Antonius, whom he denounces as a public enemy; but it contains a warm panegyric on Octavianus and Decimus Brutus, and on the legions which had left the standard of Antonius.

THE THIRD ORATION.

1. WE have been summoned, my lords, altogether later than the crisis of the state demanded, but still we have at length been summoned to meet. It is a step that I have been urgently demanding, day by day, since I saw that this unprincipled and abandoned man was no longer preparing, but actually waging an iniquitous war against our altars and homes, against our persons and our property. We are waiting for January 1, while Antonius, instead of waiting, is endeavouring with his army to seize the provinces of that excellent and distinguished hero, Decimus Brutus. When he has completed his equipments and preparations there, he threatens to march upon the city. What, then, is the meaning of waiting, or of delay for ever so short a space of time? For though January 1 is not far off, yet a short time is a long interval for the unprepared, and a day or even an hour often brings great disasters, if no precautions have been taken to avert them. Moreover, an appointed day is not generally waited for in making plans as in performing sacrifices. But if either January 1 had occurred on the day on which Antonius fled from Rome, or we had determined not to wait for it, then by this time we should have been free from war. For with the authority of the senate, and the unanimous support of the Roman people at our back, we could easily have crushed the audacity of a madman. And this I

trust that the new consuls will do, so soon as they enter upon office, for they are men of unblemished loyalty, consummate judgment, and unusual harmony of will; but my desire for prompt action craves not only victory, but speed in its accomplishment. For how long shall a war of such magnitude, such atrocities, such iniquity, be repelled by the sagacity of a private citizen? Why is he not backed as soon as possible by the authority of the state?

2. Antonius was in the middle of his mad career, and we were anticipating with such dismay his cruel and calamitous return from Brundisium, that we neither claimed nor thought about relief; nay, so impossible did it seem, that we did not even wish for it, when Gaius Cæsar, a mere youth, I might almost say a boy, but endowed with incredible and superhuman courage and ability, got together a strong force of the invincible class of veterans, expending all his patrimony on the task; though that is scarcely the right word, for he did not expend, he invested his money in the safety of the state. And though we cannot show him so much gratitude as is his due, we ought to feel as much as our hearts can possibly conceive. For who is so ignorant of the course of events, or so regardless of the interests of the state, as not to understand that if Antonius had been able, as he threatened, to come to Rome with the forces which he hoped to have, there would have been no kind of cruelty which he would not have exercised?—he who did not hesitate to order loyal soldiers of the greatest bravery to be murdered in cold blood in the house of his host at Brundisium; so that it is notorious that at his very feet the face of his wife was sprinkled with their life blood. If this was the cruelty that marked his character, which of all of us, what loyal citizen would he have spared, considering that he was more enraged against every man of loyalty than against the victims of his cruelty? From this plague Cæsar freed the state on his own responsibility; for indeed no other course was open to him. And had not he been born in this commonwealth, then through the iniquity of Antonius we

should have had to-day no commonwealth at all. For it is my impression, and my deliberate judgment, that had not a single youth restrained his frantic efforts and the struggles of his consummate cruelty, the commonwealth must utterly have perished. On him, therefore, my lords, to-day, being the first day on which we have met with the power, thanks to him, of speaking freely what we think—on him we must confer authority, that he may assume the care of the state, not merely as a matter of his own responsibility, but as a sacred charge entrusted to him by the senate.

Nor indeed, since after a long period of silence we may speak about the state, can I refrain from mentioning the Martian legion. For what single individual has ever been braver or more friendly to the Roman people than the whole body of the Martian legion? Having decided that Antonius was an enemy of the Roman people, it refused to be the partner of his madness: it left the consul—which it certainly would not have done had it considered that the man could be indeed a consul—whom it saw doing nothing, planning nothing except the murder of the citizens and the ruin of the state. And that legion took up its position at Alba. What city could it have chosen, that should contain either brave men or faithful citizens, which was either more convenient for action or more to be depended on? In imitation of the loyalty of this legion, the fourth legion, under the command of the quæstor Lucius Egnatuleius, a most excellent and valiant citizen, attached itself to the army under Gaius Cæsar. It remains therefore for us, my lords, to confirm with our authority all that this most noble and excellent of youths has done and is still doing of his own accord, and to give the sanction of our praise and countenance to the wonderful unanimity shown in re-establishing the commonwealth, first, by the most valiant veterans, and then by the fourth and Martian legions, and to pledge ourselves to-day that we will care for their interests and honours and rewards, as soon as the new consuls shall have entered upon office.

3.

4. And all this which I have recorded about Cæsar and his army has long been known to every one of us. For by the marvellous valour of their leader, and by the firmness of the veterans and of the legions which, with such admirable judgment, adopted as their watchword the authority of the senate, the freedom of the Roman people, and the example of Cæsar, the yoke of Antonius was cast off from our necks. But this, as I have said, is of an earlier date; the recent edict of Decimus Brutus, issued but a short time since, can certainly not be passed over in silence. For he promises to keep the province of Gaul loyal to the senate and Roman people. Truly, here is a citizen born to serve the state, mindful of his name and the imitator of his ancestors. Nor indeed was the desire of our forefathers to gain liberty on the expulsion of the Tarquins so keen as should be ours to retain it by throwing off the yoke of Antonius. They had learned to obey the kings from the very foundation of the city; we had forgotten slavery since the kings were driven out. And that Tarquinius, whom our forefathers could not endure, is considered and reported to have been not cruel, not unnatural, but proud; so that our ancestors could not brook even in a king a fault which we have often borne in private individuals. Lucius Brutus did not endure a haughty king; shall Decimus Brutus allow Antonius to play the part of a king, both impious and unnatural? What single fault do we find in Tarquinius of so deep a dye, as the multitudes which Antonius both has committed and is still committing? Again, the kings used to convene their senate, and that without the presence of armed barbarians in the king's council chamber, as when Antonius holds a senate. The kings used to observe the auspices, which this man, who is both consul and augur, has neglected, not only by proposing laws against the auspices, but by proposing them in conjunction with a colleague whose election he had nullified by fictitious auspices. What king, moreover, was ever so egregiously devoid of shame as to put up for sale all the interests, all the privileges, all the rights of his kingdom? What

exemption, what citizenship, what reward is there which this man has not sold either to individuals, or states, or entire provinces? Nothing mean, nothing sordid is told us of Tarquinius: but in this man's house gold was weighed and money counted out among the women's workbaskets; in that single house all whose interest it was, used to traffic in the very empire of the Roman people. We have never heard of any punishments inflicted by Tarquinius on Roman citizens; but this man at Suessa murdered those whom he had made his prisoners, and then at Brundisium butchered as many as three hundred most valiant and loyal citizens. Lastly, Tarquinius, at the time of his expulsion, was carrying on a war in defence of the Roman people; Antonius was leading an army against the Roman people at the time when, deserted by his legions, he took flight before the name and army of Cæsar, and, neglecting the regular sacrifices, uttered solemn vows before daybreak which he was never doomed to keep; and at the present moment he is endeavouring to usurp by force a province of the Roman people. That Roman people, therefore, both has and hopes again to have a deeper cause for gratitude to Decimus Brutus than our forefathers had in the services of Lucius Brutus, the founder of this name and race, for whose perpetuation we devoutly pray.

But while all slavery is wretched, it is most intolerable of all when the master is profligate, debauched, effeminate, never sober even under the pressure of fear. Any one, therefore, who excludes this man from Gaul, especially on his own responsibility, decides, and decides most truly, that he is no longer consul. It is our duty then, my lords, to confirm, with the authority of the state, what Decimus Brutus has done on his own private responsibility. Nor indeed should you have considered Marcus Antonius to be consul after the Lupercalia. For on the day that, in the presence of the Roman people, he made a public harangue naked, anointed, and drunk, and did what lay in his power to place a royal diadem upon his colleague's head, he formally resigned his claims, not only to the consulship, but to

5.

personal liberty. For he must needs have been a slave at once, had Cæsar consented to receive the insignia of royalty at his hands. Am I then to look upon that man as consul, as Roman citizen, as free, in short as worthy of the name of man at all, who on that foul and iniquitous day displayed both what he could submit to while Cæsar was alive, and what he sought to gain for himself upon his death?

Nor, again, can I keep silence about the loyalty, the steadfastness, the constancy of the province of Gaul. For it is the flower of Italy, the bulwark of the empire of the Roman people, the ornament of its majesty. But so thorough is the understanding that exists among the borough towns and colonies of Gaul, that all would seem to have conspired to defend the authority of this House and the majesty of the Roman people. And, therefore, tribunes of the commons, though the only motion which you have laid before us is for the provision of a guard, that the consuls may be able to hold a meeting of the senate in safety on January 1, yet you seem to me, with great judgment and exemplary loyalty, to have given us an opportunity of discussing the general welfare of the state. For in deciding that a meeting of the senate could not be held in safety without a guard, you decided that the wickedness and audacity of Antonius found a sphere of work within the very walls.

6. And therefore I will embrace the whole question in giving my opinion, and that, as I conceive, in full accordance with your wishes: so that our gallant leaders may receive authority at our hands, and our brave soldiers may have a hope held out to them of rewards, and that Antonius may be pronounced not by words but by deeds not only to be no consul, but to be a public enemy. For if he is a consul, then the legions which deserted a consul merit cudgelling to death; then Cæsar is accursed, Brutus a traitor, for having levied armies against a consul on their own responsibility; but if we are called upon to seek new honours for the soldiers on account of their supernatural and

imperishable merits, if our gratitude to the generals cannot be expressed in words, who is there in that case that will not deem Antonius a public enemy, when, if any men pursue him under arms, they are held to be the saviours of their country? But, again, how insolent he is in his edicts! how uncivilised! how ignorant! To begin with, he has poured out a torrent of abuse on Cæsar, which is drawn from the recollection of his own debauchery and licentiousness. For who was ever chaster or more modest than this youth? What nobler instance have we among our youth of the holiness of olden time? Who, on the other hand, is more licentious than the man who utters the abuse? He attacks Gaius Cæsar for his want of noble blood, though his own father would have risen to the consulship had he not died too soon. His mother was a woman of Aricia. You would suppose he said of Tralles, or of Ephesus. See how he despises all of us, who trace our origin from the borough towns; that is to say, the bulk of our number: for how few among the whole of us can boast a different origin? And what borough is there for which he does not express contempt, when he so utterly despises Aricia, a town of the most remote antiquity, allied to us by treaty, lying close on our borders, and yielding to none in the honourable reputation of its citizens? To it we owe the Voconian and Atinian laws: to it many curule magistrates both in our father's time and in our own. But if you disapprove of a wife from Aricia, why do you approve of one from Tusculum? Although the father of this most excellent and virtuous woman, Marcus Atius Balbus, was of prætorian rank, and second to none in reputation, the father of your wife, a good enough woman, certainly a rich one, was one Stammerer, a man of no account. Nothing could be more contemptible than he was, a man who had gained a nickname from the hesitation in his speech and the dulness of his intellect. But his grandsire was of noble blood. Yes, that Tuditanus, who used in full tragic costume to scatter coppers from the rostra to the mob. I would that he had

bequeathed to his descendants a similar contempt for money. You have before you a truly glorious nobility of blood. But how came it about that the descendant of a Julia should seem to you of ignoble birth, when you are wont to boast of the same descent upon your mother's side? What madness, moreover, it is in him to speak of ignoble birth in women, when his father had as his wife Nūmitoria of Fregellæ, the daughter of a traitor; and when he has himself acknowledged children by the daughter of a freedman. But I leave this in the hands of such illustrious men as Lucius Philippus, who has married a woman of Aricia, and Gaius Marcellus, who married her daughter: for I know full well that they are in no way discontented with the position of their excellent wives.

7. He goes on further to abuse my nephew, Quintus Cicero, in his edict, and does not see in his folly that his abuse is in truth the highest praise. For what more enviable lot can happen to this youth, than to be known to the world as the partner of Cæsar's designs, the opponent of the frenzy of Antonius? But the gladiator has even dared to maintain in writing that Quintus had entertained thoughts of murdering his father and his uncle. What marvellous shamelessness and rashness and audacity! to venture to make such an assertion against a youth whom my brother and I vie with each other in loving for the amiability and integrity of his character, and the excellence of his abilities: whom we never tire of seeing or hearing or holding in our embrace. For the fellow positively does not know whether these same edicts conduce more to my praise or to my hurt. When he threatens the noblest citizens with the same punishment as I exacted from the basest and most infamous criminals, he seems to be praising me, as though he sought to copy me: but when he excites afresh the memory of that glorious deed, he thinks that he is stirring up some odium against me on the part of others like himself.

8. But what was his own conduct? After issuing all these edicts, he gave notice of a meeting of the senate

on November 24. When the day came he was absent himself. But what were the terms of his notice? These are the words, I think, with which it ends: 'If any senator shall fail to appear, all will be at liberty to consider him the adviser both of my destruction and of the most abandoned counsels.' What are the abandoned counsels? such as relate to the recovery of our liberty? for these I confess that both in the past and in the present I have urged and strongly pressed on Cæsar. Not that he needed the advice of anyone, but, as the saying goes, I spurred the willing horse. For what good man would not have counselled your destruction, seeing that in it was involved the safety and the life of every loyal citizen, together with the freedom and the honour of the Roman people? But, after summoning us with such a strange notice, why was he not there himself? Think you that he was detained by any matter of sad or serious import? No, it was by wine and feasting, if indeed we may call it feasting rather than a tavern revel. He neglected to meet his engagement on the day appointed: he postponed the meeting till the 28th. He ordered us to meet in the Capitol; coming up to the temple himself by some underground passage or another of the Gauls. A certain number came in obedience to the summons, some of them men of consideration, but unmindful of their dignity. For the day, the general talk, the convener of the meeting, were all of such a character, that to be free from alarm was itself disgraceful to a senator. But even before those who had assembled he did not dare to say a single word concerning Cæsar, though he had determined to make a motion about him in the senate: one of the consulars had brought the motion ready written out. If he dare not propose a motion about a man who attacked him when holding the office of consul, is not this equivalent to admitting himself to be a public enemy? One or the other must be such: no other decision could be come to with respect to the opposing generals. If therefore Cæsar was the enemy, why should the consul make no motion in the senate? If

he did not deserve to be branded by the senate, what can Antonius say but that, in keeping silence about Cæsar, he acknowledged himself to be the enemy? The man whom in his edicts he calls a Spartacus, in the senate he dares not even style unscrupulous.

9. But on the most mournful subjects what laughter he provokes! I have committed to memory certain clauses of his edict, which he himself appears to think unusually sharp: but I myself could never find any one who could understand what he desired to say. 'That is no insult which one who is worthy makes.' To begin with, what is 'worthy?' for many, like himself, are worthy of what is bad. Is it that which is 'made' by any man of worth? But what insult could be greater? And then what is the meaning of to 'make an insult?' Who ever uses such an expression? Again: 'nor is that fear which arises from the threatening of a personal foe.' What? Is it a man's friends that ordinarily threaten him? And so it goes on. Is it not better to be dumb than to say what no one understands? Here you have the reason why his teacher has left the platform for the plough, and holds rent free two thousand acres of the public land at Leontini, that he may make a fool more foolish still at the public cost. But perhaps these matters are of less importance. I would ask therefore why he has been so gentle in the senate after being so savage in his edicts. For what was his object in threatening to kill Lucius Cassius, the tribune of the commons, a man of the utmost gallantry and steadfastness, if he should come into the senate? or in turning out so loyal a man as Decimus Carfulenus, by force and threats of death? or in excluding not only from the temple, but even from the approaches of the Capitol, such a man as Tiberius Canutius, who had often attacked him on good grounds with the most honourable arguments. To what decree of the senate was he afraid they would oppose their tribunicial veto? To that about the public thanksgiving, I suppose, in honour of the distinguished hero, Marcus Lepidus. And there was really a risk that an

obstacle should be placed in the way of an ordinary distinction in the case of one whom we were daily thinking of distinguishing in some extraordinary way. But that he might not seem to have called the senate together without cause, he was just going to make a motion concerning the condition of the state, when on receiving the tidings about the fourth legion he utterly collapsed, and in his eagerness to fly he caused the decree about the public thanksgiving to be passed by acclamation, though such a course had never been adopted on any similar occasion.

In what a fashion he afterwards set out ! What a journey he made in full general's uniform ! How he avoided the eyes of men, the light, the city, the Forum ! What a wretched, scandalous, and disgraceful flight ! Yet we must acknowledge that some truly noble decrees of the senate were issued that same day after sunset, that the allotment of the provinces was attended by all the sanctions of religion, and that the interference of the gods was shown in the happy chance that every man obtained what suited him. And therefore, tribunes of the commons, you do well in bringing forward the question of protection for the consuls and the senate, and all of us are bound both to feel and to express the deepest gratitude for the service you have rendered us. For how can we be free from danger amid the avarice and recklessness of such men ? and from whom does that desperate and abandoned man expect to receive a heavier condemnation than from his friends ? His dearest friend, Lucius Lentulus, with whom I also have friendly relations, and Publius Naso, a man entirely free from avarice, considered that they had no province, that the apportionment, as made by Antonius, was null and void. Lucius Philippus, a man in all ways worthy of his father, his grandfather, and his ancestors, followed their example. Their view was also shared by Gaius Turranius, and by Spurius Oppius. Even men like my connection, Marcus Piso, who is distinguished alike as a man and as a citizen, and Marcus Vehilius, a man of equal uprightness, though their friendship for Antonius perhaps induced

10.

them to pay more deference to him than they desired, yet declared that they would yield to the authority of the senate. Why should I speak of Lucius Cæsar, whose conspicuous integrity, that had stood the test of so many critical situations, made us wonder less at the glory of his noble action in the present case? but he also declined entirely to take the province which had been assigned to him, as did also the great and loyal soul of Gaius Cestius. Who, then, remain to be delighted with this heaven-sent apportionment? Lucius Annius, Marcus Antonius. O happy pair! for there was nothing which they wished for more. Gaius Antonius to have Macedonia. He, too, is in luck, for he was always talking of this province. Gaius Calvisius to have Africa. Nothing could be happier, for he had just left Africa; and, as though divining his return, he had left two *legates* at Utica. Then Sicily comes to Marcus Cusinus, Spain to Quintus Cassius. Here there is nothing to suspect. I imagine that the gods had less to do with allotting these two provinces.

11. O Gaius Cæsar, I mean the youth so called, what salvation you have brought the state! how unexpectedly, how suddenly! for if Antonius did those things as a fugitive, what would he do as an assailant? For he said at a public meeting that he would be the guardian of the city, and would keep his army here until May 1. Set the wolf, as the saying goes, to guard the sheep. Would Antonius be guardian of the city, or would he rather rob and harass it? And indeed he said that he would go in and out of the city when he pleased. And this is not the worst. Did he not, while sitting before the temple of Castor, say in the hearing of the people, that life should only be secured by victory? To-day, for the first time after a long interval, we plant our foot on the platform of liberty: of which I, to the utmost of my power, have been not only the champion, but the saviour. When that was beyond me I remained quiet, nor did I bear the disaster and grief of the ensuing period without some dignity and spirit. But this most brutal monster, who can bear? and how? What is there in Antonius save lust and cruelty and wantonness

and audacity? He is nothing else than one vast compound of the four. Nothing is to be seen in him betokening gentle breeding, or moderation, or chastity, or modesty. And, therefore, since matters are brought to such a pass that we must choose whether he is to give satisfaction to the state, or we are to be slaves, let us at length, my lords, in Heaven's name, assume our natural spirits and courage, so as either to recover the liberty which is the birthright of the Roman race and name, or to show that we choose death in preference to slavery. We have borne and endured much which ought not to be borne in a free state: some things in the hope of recovering our freedom, some from too great love of life; but if we have borne what necessity forced us to endure, what was put upon us almost by the hand of fate—though even this at length we found too much to bear—are we therefore also to bear the foul and cruel tyranny of this most profligate of ruffians?

What will he do, if he can, in his anger, who, when he had no excuse for finding fault with anyone, has shown himself the foe of all good men? What will he not dare as a conqueror, who, without the pretext of a victory, has been guilty of such crimes since Cæsar's death? For see what he has done! He has made away with the treasures of the dictator's amply furnished house. He has stripped whole villas of their decorations, and transferred all their ornaments to himself: he sought in the celebration of a funeral a pretext for murder and incendiarism. After passing two or three decrees of the senate in the interests of the state, he has made everything else contribute to his own profit and plunder: he has sold exemptions from taxation; he has freed cities from paying tribute; he has wiped out whole provinces from the empire of the Roman people; he has brought back exiles; he has caused false laws and false decrees to be engraved on brass, and posted in the Capitol in the name of Gaius Cæsar, and has instituted a general market of all these things in his own house; he has imposed laws upon the Roman people; he has excluded the magistrates and the people from the

12.

Forum by bodies of armed men, and has filled the senate house with troops. Whenever he convened the senate, he has stationed his body-guard in the shrine of Concord; he made a forced march to the legions at Brundisium, and killed their centurions, who were men of devoted loyalty; he tried to come to Rome with an army, for the purpose of destroying us, and breaking up our city. And on being baffled in the attack by the strategy and forces of Cæsar, by the unanimity of the veterans, by the valour of the legions, not even under the frown of fortune did he show any diminution of his rashness, or cease to rush onwards in the fury of his mad career. He is leading the fragments of his army into Gaul; with a single wavering legion he is waiting for his brother Lucius, than whom no better match for himself could possibly be found. He who has risen from the arena to the command of troops, to be a general from the gladiators' school, has made a wondrous havoc wheresoever he has set his foot. He empties out whole stores of wine; he slaughters herds of cattle, and any smaller beasts on which he lays his hands; his soldiers spend their time in revelling; he himself, not to be behind his brother, drowns his senses in wine; lands are laid waste, country houses plundered, matrons, virgins, free-born boys, are carried off and given to the soldiers. His brother Marcus has done the same wherever he has led his army.

13. Will you then open your gates to these most brutal brothers? Will you even receive them in your city? Will you not profit by the kindness of the gods, now that the opportunity is given you, when the generals are ready, the minds of the soldiers excited, the Roman people joining together heart and soul, the whole of Italy aroused to the recovery of its liberty. Lose this chance and you will never have another. If he comes into Gaul he will be hemmed in behind, in front, and on his flanks. We must press him not with arms alone, but with decrees as well. There is great power, great prestige in a senate unanimous in the same resolve. See you the Forum crowded, and the Roman people

eager with the new-found hope of once more being free? For now that it sees us after such an interval once more meeting here in numbers, it hopes that we are also met in liberty. This day was what I looked for in avoiding the accursed arms of Antonius when he made his speech against me in my absence, without understanding for what occasion I was reserving myself and my strength. For if I had consented to reply to him then, when he desired to begin his massacres with me, I should not now be able to further the interests of the state. But now that this opportunity is given me, be very sure, my lords, that I will not let a moment pass, by day or night, without making the liberty of the Roman people and your honour the subject of my thoughts where thought is required; while, where deed and action are needed, so far from shrinking, I will strive even with importunity to make that deed and action mine. This I did, so long as ever I could; I paused while the power was denied me. Now we not only have the power, but are constrained to act, unless we had rather submit to slavery than strive with body and soul to keep us free. The gods have given us these champions—Cæsar for the salvation of the city, Brutus as the saviour of Gaul. For, had the city fallen under Antonius, then immediately had Gaul been lost to us, then very soon must all the noblest citizens have fallen, and all the rest been slaves.

And so, for Heaven's sake, my lords, grasp firmly the chance that is afforded you, and remember at length that you are the leaders of the noblest council in the world. Give token to the Roman people that your counsel is not wanting to the state, since they on their part guarantee the necessary courage. There is nought of which I need remind you. No one of you is such a fool as not to understand that if we let this time pass by in sleep we must submit to a tyranny which will not be only cruel and overbearing, but degrading and infamous to ourselves. You know the insolence of Antonius, you know his friends, you know his whole household. To be in slavery to the profligate, the wanton, the impure, the unchaste, to gamblers, to drunkards, is indeed

14.

the height of misery combined with the height of disgrace. But if, which heaven forbend, the final crisis of the state has come, then like high-souled gladiators desiring to die as honourable men, let us, the leaders of all nations in the world, take care to fall with dignity rather than incur the shame of slavery. Nothing is more odious than dishonour, nothing more shameful than slavery. We were born to be noble and free; let us either maintain these privileges or die with dignity. We have too long hidden what we felt; now it is all revealed. We all of us make manifest what each man feels or wishes on either side. Disloyal citizens exist indeed, but though more in number than in our love for the state we should desire, yet they are but few against the multitude of the well-affected; and at the present moment the gods have given the state a truly marvellous opportunity of crushing them. For to the means of defence which we already possess will presently be added consuls of the highest discretion and valour, working most harmoniously together, after many months spent in anxious thought about the freedom of the state. With these to guide and lead us, with Heaven to aid us, and the Roman people united on our side, if we are but watchful ourselves and full of care for what is coming, we must be very shortly free. And freedom will be all the sweeter from the recollection of slavery in the past.

15. For these reasons, inasmuch as the tribunes of the commons have opened this debate in order to enable the senate to meet in safety, and a free discussion to be held concerning the highest interests of the state, I move that Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, the consuls-elect, take care that the senate may be enabled to meet in safety on January 1; and whereas an edict has been issued by Decimus Brutus, imperator and consul-elect, that the senate declares its opinion that the said Decimus Brutus, imperator and consul-elect, has done good service to the state in maintaining the authority of the senate and the freedom and empire of the Roman people; and whereas he is keeping both his own army and the province of Hither Gaul, a province full

of citizens of the utmost virtue and courage and loyalty to the state, faithful in their allegiance to the senate, that both he and his army and the borough towns of Gaul have acted and are acting in obedience to the dictates of propriety and order, and as the interests of the state demand; also, that the senate thinks that the safety of the state requires that Decimus Brutus and Lucius Plancus, imperators and consuls-elect, and all the other officers who are in command of provinces, should retain that command, in accordance with the Julian law, till each of them is relieved by a successor appointed by a decree of the senate; and that they should take care that the said provinces and armies should abide by their allegiance to the senate and the people, and provide for the protection of the state; and whereas the Roman people has been defended, and is at the present time being defended, from the most serious dangers by the exertions and loyalty and discretion of Gaius Cæsar, and by the wonderful harmony which the veterans have displayed; and whereas the Martian legion has made a stand at Alba, in a most loyal and courageous borough town, and has set itself to secure the authority of the senate and the freedom of the Roman people; and whereas the fourth legion, with like discretion and equal valour, is defending, and has defended, the authority of the senate and the freedom of the Roman people, under the command of Lucius Egnatuleius, a distinguished citizen, I move that the senate does and will take care that for such services on their part towards the state honours be awarded them and thanks bestowed upon them; and that the senate resolves that Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, consuls-elect, shall, if it so seem good to them, at the earliest opportunity after entering on their office, make such a motion on this subject to the senate as may seem to them most in accordance with their own honour and the welfare of the state.

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE FOURTH ORATION.



THE senate having agreed to the resolutions of Cicero, as proposed in the third oration, he proceeded to the Forum and announced to the people the result of the debate, showing that the measures adopted were really tantamount to declaring Antonius a public enemy. The speech is in great measure a repetition, in less elaborate language, of the ideas already laid before the senate.

THE FOURTH ORATION.

1. THE incredible numbers, Romans, in which you have met here to-day, and the magnitude of this meeting, unparalleled within my memory, inspire in my mind at once a most eager desire to defend the state, and a hope of recovering its position. Not that spirit has been wanting on my part for the task; it is the opportunity which has failed us: and now that the course of time has once more shown us some dawn of light, I take the lead without delay in asserting your freedom. Had I essayed to do so sooner, it would not now be in my power. For it is only to-day, Romans, if you would know the full value of what we have accomplished, that the foundation has been laid for what is required to be done. For though the senate will not apply the name, yet practically Antonius is now pronounced an enemy. And from this moment I feel the firmer confidence, since this decision is confirmed by such unanimous applause from you. For there can be no third alternative: either they are traitors who have raised an army against the consul, or, if they have been right in bearing arms against him, he must be a public enemy. All doubt upon this point, though doubt indeed there was none, the possibility however of such a doubt, the senate has this day removed. Gaius Cæsar, who has shielded and is shielding the republic and your liberty by his zeal, his prudence, and the expenditure of his inheritance, has been honoured to-day by the highest com-

mendation which the senate can bestow. I praise you, Romans, I praise you, that you greet with such fervent gratitude the name of this most noble youth, or rather boy; for though his deeds betoken something more than mortal, yet the name of boy befits his age. I remember much, I have heard much, I have read much, Romans; yet nothing of the sort in any age can I recall to mind; that, when we were crushed by slavery, when the evil was increasing day by day, when we had nothing to protect us, when we were fearing the criminal and fatal return of Marcus Antonius from Brundisium, he should have adopted a policy which none could hope for, certainly which no one was acquainted with, in getting together an invincible army of his father's veterans, and saving the state from the destruction threatened by the frenzy of Antonius excited by the most inhuman counsels.

2. For who is there that can fail to understand that, had not Cæsar collected an army, the return of Antonius must have been fatal to ourselves? For in such a spirit was he coming back, burning with hatred for you, stained with the blood of Roman citizens, whom he had murdered at Suessa and Brundisium, that he thought of nothing but the destruction of the Roman people. And what was there to protect your lives or your liberty, had Gaius Cæsar's army not been there, consisting of his father's bravest veterans? And in recognition of this truth, the senate has just now agreed to my proposal that the praises and honours, which are due to him in more than mortal measure for his more than mortal services, should be taken into consideration at the earliest possible opportunity. And who does not perceive that Antonius is pronounced an enemy by this decree? for what can we style a man whose open enemies in the field are deemed by the senate fitting objects for extraordinary honours? What? did not the Martian legion, which seems to me to have derived its name by some divine inspiration from the god to whom tradition refers the origin of the Roman people,—did it not anticipate the senate by its resolutions in declaring

Antonius to be an enemy? For if he is not an enemy, then we must look on those as enemies who deserted the consul. Nobly and opportunely, Romans, have those shouts of disapproval sanctioned the noble action of the Martian legion, who came to the support of the authority of the senate, of your liberty, of the republic in general, when they deserted that enemy, that brigand, that destroyer of his fatherland. Their action was not only spirited and brave, but thoughtful and discreet as well. They took up their position at Alba, in a town conveniently situated on our borders, strongly fortified, inhabited by most loyal and excellent citizens. Following the good example of this Martian legion the fourth legion also attached itself to the army of Gaius Cæsar, under the command of Lucius Egnatuleius, whom the senate praised just now deservedly.

For what more solemn judgments, Marcus Antonius, are you waiting? Cæsar, who has raised an army against you, is lauded to the skies. Praises in the most recondite terms are lavished on the legions which abandoned you, which were summoned home by you, which, had you chosen the rôle of consul rather than of enemy, would now be yours. The bold and upright judgment which these legions have pronounced is confirmed by the senate, and by all the Roman people, unless indeed you whom I address consider Antonius a consul, not an enemy. I thought, Romans, that your opinion was what your answer shows me that it is. But do you think that the borough towns, the colonies, the *præfecturæ*¹ do not share in your opinion? All human beings are of one accord; they all agree that everyone who wishes for the safety of the state must take up arms against this firebrand. What! does any single man suppose that we should look with scorn upon the judgment of Decimus Brutus, which you may gather from his edict of to-day? Rightly and truly, Romans, do you repudiate such a view. For the name and race of the Bruti has

3.

¹ *Præfecturæ* were towns which were subject allies of Rome, and under the government of a '*præfectus*' sent out from the capital.

been bestowed upon our state, as it were, by the kindness and liberality of the gods, in order now to establish, now to recover the freedom of the Roman people. What then is the verdict of Decimus Brutus upon Antonius? He shuts him out of his province; he resists him with an army; he urges war throughout the whole of Gaul, inflamed already of its own accord by the judgment it had formed itself. If Antonius is consul, Brutus is an enemy; if Brutus is the saviour of his country, Antonius is an enemy. Can we then for a moment doubt which of these alternatives is true?

4. And just as you with one accord and one voice declare that you are free from doubt, so the senate has just now decreed that Decimus Brutus had earned the warmest gratitude of the state, for defending the authority of the senate and the freedom and empire of the Roman people. Defending it from whom? surely from an enemy; for what other defending calls for praise? Next in order we have the praises of the province of Gaul, and it is deservedly complimented by the senate in the fullest terms, for resisting Antonius. But if that province considered him a consul and refused to receive him, it would involve itself in a serious crime; for all provinces ought to submit to the jurisdiction and authority of the consul. Decimus Brutus, consul-elect and imperator, a citizen born to serve the state, denies that he is consul; Gaul denies it, all Italy denies it, the senate denies it, you deny it. Who then looks on him as consul, except ruffians like himself? And yet not even they feel really what they say, nor, traitors and scoundrels though they are, can they help agreeing with the view of all mankind. But the hope of sack and booty blinds the minds of men who are not sated with the gift of property, the assignment of lands, the endless sale of confiscated goods; who have proposed to themselves to plunder the city with the goods and fortunes of the citizens; who think their every wish will be fulfilled, so long as anything remains to harry here; amongst whom Marcus Antonius—may Heaven avert and turn aside the disaster which my words forebode!—has

promised to divide the city. Yes, Romans, may things turn out in accordance with your prayers; and may the punishment of this madness recoil upon himself and on his family, as I most fully trust will be the case! For now I think that not only men but the immortal gods themselves have conspired for the salvation of the state. For, if the gods foretell to us the future by prodigies and portents, these have been revealed with such distinctness, that punishment for him and liberty for us cannot fail to be at hand; or, if all cannot be so unanimous without the prompting of the gods, how can we doubt in which direction the will of heaven is inclined?

It remains then, Romans, that you persevere in the opinion which you indicate. I will, therefore, follow the example of generals on the field of battle; and as they give exhortations to their soldiers, even though they see them eager to engage, so, though you are already full of ardour and excitement, I will exhort you to regain your liberty. You have not to contend with an enemy with whom you can entertain any conditions of peace. Nor indeed does he now desire to enslave you, as before, but in his rage he is thirsting for your blood. No sport seems sweeter to him than bloodshed, and murder, and the butchery of his fellow-citizens before his eyes. It is not with a man, Romans, however accursed and unscrupulous, that you have now to deal, but with a foul and savage beast, whom we should crush, since he has fallen into the pit. For, if he comes out safe again, we shall be powerless to put away from us any punishment, however cruel. But he is held fast, he is closely pressed, he is shut in now by the forces which we have, presently by those which the new consuls will levy in a few days. Apply then your energies to the task, even as I see you do. Never have you been more unanimous for any work, never have you been so eagerly united with the senate. Nor is this strange. For the struggle is not on what conditions we shall live, but whether we shall live at all, or die amid torture and disgrace. And yet nature has appointed death indeed for every man; but valour, the special

5.

inheritance of the Roman race and lineage, is wont to keep off cruelty and shame in death. I entreat you, cling to this, which your ancestors have left you as a kind of heirloom. For whilst all else is false and fickle, destined to decay and change, valour alone has deeply planted roots, so as never to be shaken by any violence, or moved a hair's breadth from its place. By valour your forefathers first subdued the whole of Italy, then they destroyed Carthage, overthrew Numantia, and brought most powerful kings, most warlike nations, under subjection to this empire.

6. And your forefathers, men of Rome, had to deal with an enemy who had a state, a senate, a treasury, harmony and concord among its citizens, something whereon to found peace and treaties, should occasion serve: this enemy of yours attacks your state, but has none himself; he makes a boast of destroying the senate, the council of the world, but has himself no public body of counsellors; he has drained your treasury, but has none of his own. For how can he have harmony among his citizens, who has no state at all? and how can there be negotiations for peace with a man whose cruelty is inconceivable, while he is destitute of faith? The Roman people, therefore, Romans, the conqueror of all nations, has to carry on a contest solely with a murderer, a ruffian, a Spartacus. For, as to his common boast of being a second Catiline, he is his match in crime, but not in industry. Catiline, having no army, quickly got one together; Antonius has lost the army which he had. As therefore you crushed Catiline by my carefulness, by the authority of the senate, by your own zeal and valour, so within a short time you will hear that the wicked brigandage of Antonius has been trodden under foot by your unparalleled harmony with the senate, and by the good fortune and valour of your armies and their leaders. For my part, so far as I can make any effort or achieve any result by any care, or toil, or watchfulness, or authority, or prudence of mine, I will leave nothing undone which I think can bear upon your liberty; nor indeed could I

do so without crime in the face of all the kindness you have shown to me. But to-day, for the first time after a long interval, through the proposal of Marcus Servilius, a man of the greatest bravery, and most devoted to your interests, supported by his colleagues, men of the highest distinction, and most loyal citizens, under my advice and guidance we are once more fired with the hope of liberty.

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE FIFTH ORATION.

IN the interval between the third and fourth orations and January 1, when the new consuls entered upon office, Antonius entered Cisalpine Gaul and besieged Decimus Brutus, who had thrown himself into Mutina, whilst the young Cæsar, with a considerable army, was marching to attack the Consul in the rear.

At the meeting on January 1, a proposition was made by Q. Fufius Calenus to send an embassy to Antonius, and to defer declaring him a public enemy till it should be seen whether he would return to his allegiance to the senate. In opposition to this, Cicero delivered his fifth oration, in which he urges that strenuous measures should at once be taken against him.

The debate was prolonged for four days, at the close of which Cicero's proposal for declaring Antonius a public enemy was vetoed by Salvius, a tribune of the commons; it was resolved to send three envoys to treat with him, and Cicero was directed to frame the commission which should be entrusted to them.



THE FIFTH ORATION.

NOTHING has ever seemed to me longer in coming, my lords, than this January 1; and I quite understand that the same has been felt during these last days by every one of you. For those who are waging war against the state were not waiting for to-day. But we, at a time when the support of our counsels was most required for the common weal, were never summoned to a meeting. The speeches, however, of the consuls have removed all grounds of complaint about the past; for they have spoken in such terms, that it seems as if our anxiety, rather than the real urgency of the case, had made the new year so long in coming. And as the speeches of the consuls have raised my spirits, and given me hopes not only of preserving our safety, but even of recovering our ancient dignity, so the vote of the senator, whose opinion was first asked, would have disturbed me, did I not trust implicitly in your loyalty and firmness. For this day dawned on you, my lords, and this opportunity was given you, that you might show the Roman people all the loyalty, all the firmness, all the influence that exists in the counsels of this House. Recall to mind what happened just twelve days ago. How unanimous you were! what loyalty, what firmness you displayed! what praise, what honours, what thanks you won from the Roman people! On that day, my lords, you passed such resolutions that the only alternatives now open to you are honourable peace or neces-

sary war. Does Marcus Antonius desire peace? Then let him lay down his arms; let him ask for it; let him implore our clemency. He will find no one more inclined to mercy than myself, though, while seeking the favour of disloyal citizens, he has thought fit to be my enemy rather than my friend. There is nothing whatever which can be granted while he wages war; if he asks for pardon, some concession may, perhaps, be made; but to send ambassadors to a man upon whom you passed so stern and dignified a verdict just twelve days ago, would be an act, to speak in plain language, not of trifling, but of madness.

2. First of all you praised such generals as had taken up arms against him on their own responsibility; then you praised the veterans, who, though they had been placed in colonies by Antonius, yet preferred the freedom of the Roman people to any obligation which they had received from him. Again, why is the Martian legion, why is the fourth deemed worthy of praise? For if it was their consul whom they left, then they should be censured; but if an enemy to the state, then they deserve your praise. But though you were still without consuls, you passed a decree that the question of rewards to the soldiery and honours to their generals should be taken into consideration at the earliest possible opportunity. Is it your pleasure at one and the same time to award a recompense to those who have taken up arms against Antonius, and to send an embassy to confer with him? so that one may fairly feel ashamed that the legions have passed more honourable resolutions than the senate; seeing that the legions determined to defend the senate against Antonius, the senate determines to send an embassy to him. Is this to support the spirits of the soldiers, or to throw cold water on their loyalty? The result of twelve days' interval is this, that whereas up to this time no one except Cotyla has been found to defend Antonius, he now has even consulars among his patrons. And I would that all of them were asked for their votes before myself; although I shrewdly suspect what some of

those will say whose votes come after mine; I could more easily make any reply that seemed to be required. For there is an impression that some one will propose that Antonius should supersede Plancus in the province of Northern Gaul. What is this but to provide the enemy with all the necessaries for civil war? First with the sinews of war, in the form of unlimited supplies of money, in which he is now deficient, then with cavalry to any extent. Cavalry do I say? do you think that he will hesitate to bring with him legions of barbarian infantry? Any one who fails to see this has lost his senses; any one who, seeing it, supports the proposal, is a traitor to his country. Will you supply an accursed and abandoned citizen with the money, the infantry, the cavalry, all the resources of the Germans and the Gauls? Away with such excuses as 'He is my friend;' first let him be his country's friend. 'He is my kinsman-;' can any kin be nearer than that with our country, in which our relationship to our parents is itself involved? 'He has given me money.' I should like to see the man who ventures to say that. But when I shall explain what the true matter at issue is, it will be easy to determine what vote you will give or whose guidance you will follow.

The question is whether Marcus Antonius shall be empowered to crush the state, to massacre the loyal citizens, to divide the city, to make a present of the lands to his banditti, to overwhelm the Roman people in slavery, or whether he shall be permitted to do none of these things? Can you doubt what course you will adopt? Yet you will say this does not apply to Antonius. Cotyla himself would not venture to say this. For what is there which does not apply to a man who, while professing to maintain the acts of Cæsar, selects for travesty just those laws of his which we might best have praised? Cæsar wished to drain the Pomptine marshes; Antonius has given up the whole of Italy for division to his truly moderate brother Lucius. What? has the Roman people accepted this law? would the auspices have allowed it to be passed? But our augur

3.

is too bashful to interpret the auspices without his colleagues; though indeed these auspices stand in need of no interpretation; for who does not know that when there is thunder no public business can be carried on? The tribunes of the commons made a proposal about the provinces contrary to the acts of Gaius Cæsar. Cæsar fixed the tenure of a province at two years, Antonius extends it to six. Did the Roman people receive this law as well? Nay, was it ever published? Was it not proposed before it was committed to writing? Did we not see the deed accomplished before any one suspected its intention? Where was the law of Cæcilius and Didius? Where the promulgation on three market days? Where is the penalty appointed by the recent law of Junius and Licinius? Can these laws stand without the overthrow of every other law? Was any one so much as allowed to make his way into the Forum? And all the time what a thunderstorm! what a tempest was raging! so that if Antonius could not be aroused by the auspices, at any rate, it seems strange that he could bear unmoved such violence of storm and rain and hurricane. Will he then hesitate to confess that a law was proposed in violation of the auspices, which he, as augur, allows to have been proposed when Jupiter was not only thundering, but absolutely stopping all action by his uproar in the sky? Does this excellent augur, moreover, think that it has no bearing on the auspices, that he proposed the law in conjunction with a colleague whose election he had nullified by his formal declaration?

4.

But we, perhaps, who are his colleagues in the augurship, will be the interpreters of the auspices. Shall we, then, also be called upon to interpret the meaning of his arms? To begin with, all the approaches of the Forum were so blocked up, that even if no troops stood in the way, still no entrance could be obtained except by tearing down the barriers; and his guards were so stationed that you might see the people, and the tribunes of the commons, driven back from entering the Forum by forts and outworks, just like an enemy prevented from enter-

ing a beleaguered city. For all these reasons I move that the laws which Marcus Antonius is said to have proposed, were proposed with violence, and against the auspices, and that the people are not bound by them. If Marcus Antonius is said to have proposed any law about confirming the acts of Cæsar, or abolishing the dictatorship in perpetuity, or planting colonies in the public lands, it is the pleasure of the senate that these laws be proposed afresh, with due observance of the auspices, so that they may bind the people. For however good the measures may be which he proposed irregularly and by force, yet they are not to be considered laws, and all the audacity of the frantic gladiator must be repudiated by our authority. But we can in nowise tolerate his squandering of the public money, whereby he has embezzled more than 6,000,000*l.* by means of forged entries and lavish gifts, so that it seems little less than a miracle that such vast sums of public money could have perished in so short a time. What? can we tolerate those huge profits which the whole household of Antonius has swallowed up? He kept selling false decrees, and took money for ordering grants of kingdoms, of citizenship, of exemptions from taxation to be recorded on tablets of brass. All these things he proposed to do in accordance with the memoranda of Gaius Cæsar, though their real author was himself. The interior of his house was all aglow with trafficking in the vital interests of the state; his wife, more fortunate for herself than for her husbands, was holding an auction of provinces and kingdoms; exiles under form of law were being restored without law; and unless all this is cancelled by the authority of the senate, now that the hope is given us of re-establishing the republic, no form of a free state can possibly be left to us. Nor is it only by false memoranda and the sale of autographs that countless sums of money have accumulated in that house, seeing that, whatever Antonius sold, he said that he was acting in accordance with the acts of Cæsar; but he even took money for recording false decrees of the senate; contracts were signed and

sealed; decrees which the senate had never passed were deposited in the treasury. Of this scandal even foreign nations are the witnesses. Meanwhile treaties were made, kingdoms granted, nations and provinces set free from tribute, and false records of the actual transactions posted throughout the Capitol amid the groans of the Roman people. And by this means so vast a pile of riches was accumulated in a single house, that if all these kinds of treasure could be reduced to coin, the state would have no lack of money.

5. He also proposed a measure about the constitution of the courts of law, this chaste and upright man, supporter of the law and its procedure. In this he deceived us. He said that he had appointed as jurymen non-commissioned officers and privates, and men from the *Alauda* legion. But those whom he really chose were gamblers, exiles, Greeks. A noble bench of jurymen! A court of truly wondrous dignity! One yearns to plead a defendant's cause before such a body. Cydas of Crete, for instance; the scandal of the island, the most unscrupulous and profligate of men. Suppose that he were not so. Does he know Latin? Is he of the breed and stamp of men from whom we choose our jurymen? Has he even the indispensable knowledge of our laws and customs? or of our men? for Crete is better known to you than Rome to Cydas; and even among our own citizens we exercise some choice and discrimination. But who knows, or ever could have known, this jurymen from Cortyna? For Lysiades of Athens most of us at least know personally. He is the son of Phædrus, a philosopher of note, a merry fellow too, so that he would have no difficulty in agreeing with Curius, his partner on the bench and at the gaming-table. I asked, therefore, supposing that Lysiades, when summoned on a jury, should not appear, and should excuse himself on the ground that he was an Areopagite, and was not bound to be at Rome and at Athens at the same time, will the presiding magistrate accept the excuse of the Greekling jurymen, clad now in Greek and

now in Roman garb? or will he set at nought such ancient laws as those of Athens? And what a bench, good heavens! A Cretan jurymen, the worst of his race! How shall a prisoner get an advocate to plead before this man? How will he approach him? It is a hard nation. Yet the Athenians are merciful. I suppose that Curius himself is not cruel, who daily puts his fortune in peril. Besides this, some jurymen are chosen whose absence will, perhaps, be excused; for they have a valid plea, that they were sent away for the good of the state, and have never been recalled. Would the madman have chosen these for jurymen? would he have given in their names to the treasury; would he have entrusted a great portion of the commonwealth to their care, had any form of commonwealth been in his thoughts?

And I have spoken of the jurymen who are known. Those with whom you are less acquainted I did not like to mention. I may, however, tell you that dancers, harpers, all Antonius' crew of revellers, in fact, have been thrust into the third panel of jurymen. Here is the reason why so notable and admirable a law should be proposed in the midst of such tempestuous rain, and wind, and storm, and hurricane, amid thunder and lightning, that we should have upon our juries men whom no one would willingly receive as guests. It was the enormity of his crimes, the consciousness of his misdeeds, the plunder of the money, whose tale was duly stored in the temple of Ops, that worked out the idea of this third panel. Nor were infamous jurymen looked for while he could hope that the guilty might escape before an honourable jury. But to think of the shamelessness, the foul iniquity that dared to choose such jurymen! by whose choice a double disgrace was inflicted on the state; first, that there should be such infamous judges, and secondly, that it should be publicly revealed how many reprobates we had at Rome. This law, therefore, and others of the same character, I should propose to repeal, had they been brought forward

6.

without violence and with due observance of the auspices; but, as it is, why should I vote for their repeal, when I hold that they were never passed?

Is not this too to be handed down to posterity, with a record of the deepest ignominy which this senate can inflict, that Marcus Antonius is the only man in this city, since its foundation, who has openly surrounded himself with a body-guard? a thing which neither the kings ever did, nor those who since their expulsion have tried to raise themselves to kingly power. I remember Cinna, I have seen Sulla, and more lately Cæsar: these three, since the state was freed from tyranny by Lucius Brutus, have made themselves more powerful than the whole republic. I do not say that they had no armed men about them; I say that they were few, and not brought prominently forward. But this pestilent fellow was attended by a whole troop of men-at-arms: Cassius, Mustela, Piso, brandishing their swords, led through the Forum a herd of men no better than themselves; barbarian bowmen marched in regular column in their train. When they reached the temple of Concord, the steps were filled, and litters full of shields were placed on them; not that he wished the shields to be hidden, but to save his friends the fatigue of carrying them themselves.

7. But the most disgraceful thing of all, not merely to see, but even to hear of, was that in the shrine of Concord were stationed troops of brigands and assassins; that the temple was turned into a prison, that the senators gave their votes in the temple of Concord with closed doors, while bandits were passing to and fro among their seats. If I did not come here on September 1, he even said that he would send a body of workmen to pull down my house about my ears. The debate, I suppose, was of importance. It was on a motion for a public thanksgiving. On the following day I was here; he himself did not come down. I spoke about the crisis in the state, with more reserve than usual, but yet with greater freedom than was warranted by his threats of danger. But Antonius, impetuous and violent even to the extent of barring this habit of free speech,

—for Lucius Piso had used the same freedom with great credit thirty days before—declared himself my enemy; and ordered me to attend the senate on the 19th. He, meanwhile, spent seventeen days in Scipio's villa at Tibur, declaiming against me to stimulate his thirst; for this is his usual object in his declamations. When the appointed day arrived, he came down to the temple of Concord with a troop of soldiers, and poured forth an invective against me in my absence with all the foulness of which his mouth was capable. On that day, if my friends had allowed me to carry out my wish of coming into the senate, he would have begun his massacres with me, for this was his intention. And when he had once dipped his sword in blood, nothing save weariness and satiety would have caused him to desist. For his brother Lucius was with him, the Asian gladiator, who had fought as a myrmillo at Mylasa; he was thirsting for our blood, having poured out his own unsparingly in that gladiatorial contest. Antonius himself was appraising our property, noting what lands we held in the city and in the country; his beggary, combined with avarice, was threatening our fortunes; he was dividing our lands exactly how and where he pleased. No dispossessed tenant could obtain an audience; no arguments of equity could prevail on him to spare; each occupant of lands retained so much as Antonius left him after his division. And though all these things cannot stand, if you annul his laws, yet I hold that they call for individual notice, and that we should decide that the appointment of septemvirs was null and void, and that the senate should declare its pleasure that no act said to have been done by them shall stand.

But who can consider Marcus Antonius a citizen rather than the foulest and most barbarous of enemies, when from his seat before the temple of Castor he has declared, in the presence of the Roman people, that victory alone shall entitle anyone to live. Think you, my lords, that his words were more threatening than would have been his deeds? What think you of his having dared to say at a public meeting that after surrendering

8.

his office he would remain before the city with his army, and that he would enter its gates whenever he pleased? What was this but to proclaim the slavery of the Roman people? And what meant his journey to Brundisium? what his eager haste? What hope had he, unless he should bring a large army to the city, or rather within its walls? And what a strange assembling of the centurions! What madness of an ungovernable temper! When the legions, with exemplary bravery, shouted disapproval of his promises, he ordered the centurions, whom he knew to be loyal to the commonwealth, to come to him at his house, and caused them to be murdered in the very presence of himself and his wife, whom this dignified general had brought with him to his army. What think you would have been his temper towards us, whom he hated, when he was so cruel towards men whom he had never seen? or how greedy would he have been of the money of the rich, when he thirsted so savagely for the blood of the poor? whose little property, moreover, such as it was, he immediately divided among his followers and boon companions. And in his madness he was now leading his troops against his country, when Gaius Cæsar, by the favour of heaven, by the more than human greatness of his soul and intellect and statesmanship, unprompted, it is true, save by his own unrivalled virtue, yet with the full sanction of my authority, went to the colonies which his father had founded, called the veterans together, raised an army in the course of a few days, and stopped the furious advance of these banditti. But so soon as the Martian legion saw this gallant general, it strove for nothing else except our freedom; and its example was followed by the fourth.

9. Antonius, on hearing these tidings, though he had convened the senate and procured a consular to pronounce by a formal vote that Gaius Cæsar was an enemy, yet suddenly collapsed. Afterwards, without performing the accustomed sacrifices, or pronouncing the usual vows, he did not start, but took to flight in his full uniform. But whither? Into a province of most resolute

citizens, who, even if he had come without any intention of waging war, could never have borne a man of passionate and ungovernable temper, who was insolent and arrogant, always grasping, always plundering, always drunk. And he, whose iniquities, even in peace, could never be endured, has made war against the province of Gaul; he is besieging Mutina, a most staunch and glorious colony of the Roman people; he is blockading Decimus Brutus, imperator, consul-elect, a citizen born not for himself, but for the state. Was then Hannibal an enemy, and is Antonius a citizen? What did Hannibal do as enemy, which does not find a parallel in what Antonius has done or is doing, or at least is contriving and planning? What do we see throughout the route of the Antonii, save the destruction of life and property, combined with murder and rapine? Hannibal was not so bad, because he saved much for his own use; these men, who lived but for the passing hour, were utterly regardless, not only of the goods and welfare of the citizens, but of what might be useful to themselves. And to a man like this, good heavens! are we resolving to despatch an embassy? Do these friends of yours, Calenus, know the constitution of a republic, the rights of war, the precedents of our forefathers? Do they consider what is required by the majesty of the Roman people, the austerity of the senate? Do you propose an embassy? If to entreat his clemency, he will despise it; if to issue orders, he will not listen to them; in short, however stern our instructions to the envoys, the very name of embassy will quench the ardour now apparent in the Roman people, and crush the spirits of the burghers throughout Italy. To pass over these things, which are not of light importance, this embassy of yours will certainly cause delay in carrying on the war. However much they say, as I hear that some will say, 'Let the envoys go, but let preparations be made all the same for war,' yet the very name of envoys will place a drag on the rapidity of the war and on the spirits of the combatants.

The smallest impulses, my lords, effect the greatest 10

revolutions of every kind within the state, but more especially in war, and most of all in civil war, which is generally influenced by public opinion and by what men say. No one will ask with what instructions we have sent the envoys; the very name of an embassy despatched unasked will seem to be a sign of fear. Let him retire from Mutina, let him cease to blockade Brutus, let him depart from Gaul; he is not to be asked in words, but to be compelled by arms. For we are not sending to Hannibal to bid him retire from Saguntum, to whom in olden days the senate sent Publius Valerius Flaccus and Quintus Baebius Tampilus, who, if Hannibal did not obey, were ordered to go on to Carthage. Where shall we bid ours go, if Antony will not obey? We are sending to one of our own citizens, to bid him not besiege a general, a colony of the Roman people. Is it really so? must we send envoys to solicit this? What difference does it make, in heaven's name, whether he is besieging the city itself or an outpost of the city, a colony planted for the protection of the Roman people? The cause of the second Punic war, which Hannibal waged with our forefathers, was the siege of Saguntum. It was right that envoys should be sent to him; they were sent to a Carthaginian, on behalf of Hannibal's enemies, our allies. Where is the parallel in the present case? We are sending to a Roman citizen to bid him abstain from besieging or blockading a general, an army, a colony of the Roman people, from laying waste our lands, from being in short an enemy.

11.

But suppose he obeys, have we the inclination or the power to treat him as a citizen? On the 20th of December your decrees gave a death-blow to his hopes; you determined that the question now at issue should be brought before you on the 1st of January, the question of the rewards and honours to be paid to those who in the past or in the present did good service to the state. Of these you rightly judged that Gaius Cæsar was the chief, who diverted the attacks of Marcus Antonius from the city into Gaul; then you declared your approbation of the veterans who were the first to follow

Cæsar, and of those divine and heavenly legions, the Martian and fourth. To these, as they had not only deserted their leader, but were even pursuing him with war, you promised honours and rewards; and on the same day, when the edict of that gallant citizen Decimus Brutus was brought before your notice, you praised what he had done, and gave him the public sanction of your authority for having undertaken war upon his own responsibility. On that day, therefore, what had you in view except to declare Antonius a public enemy? After these decrees of yours will he be able to look with equanimity upon you, or will you see him without the greatest grief? He was shut out, cut off, and severed from the state, not only by his own crime, but as it seems to me by the especial good fortune of the state. And if he shall obey the envoys and return to Rome, do you suppose that abandoned citizens will ever for the future be without a flag to rally round? But I am not so much afraid of this: there are other things which I think of with much more alarm. He will never obey the envoys: I know the madness and self-assertion of the man; I know the abandoned counsels of the friends to whom he is devoted. His brother Lucius heads the band, as having fought abroad. Supposing his own disposition to be sane, which it will never be, yet these men will never allow him to act up to it. Meanwhile time will be wasted, the preparations for war will cool. How has the war been hitherto so far prolonged except through procrastination and delay? From the time that the departure, or rather the desperate flight of this ruffian enabled the senate to be held with freedom, I continued begging that it might be convened. On the first day of its meeting, as the consuls-elect were not present, I laid by my vote the foundations of the republic to your entire satisfaction; later indeed than was desirable—for I had no chance before—but still if from that day onwards no time had been lost, we should assuredly now have had no war. Every evil is easily extinguished at its birth; by long continuance it com-

monly gains strength. But then the 1st of January was waited for, perhaps with a mistaken policy.

12.

But let us set aside the past. Is this delay, too, to be borne, till the ambassadors set out? till they return? but waiting for them throws a doubt upon the certainty of war; and if the war be doubtful, what zeal can there be in the levying of troops? On this account, my lords, I propose that no mention should be made of envoys; I think we should without delay determine on our policy, and I propose that we should forthwith proceed to carry it out: I say that a state of siege should be proclaimed, the business of the courts suspended, the dress of war put on, a levy held of troops, without allowance of exemptions, both in the city and in all Italy except Gaul. If this be done, the very impression and rumour of our sternness will crush the madness of this cursed gladiator. He will feel that he has undertaken war against the state, he will experience the strength and vigour of a senate when unanimous; for now he maintains that it is nothing but a party quarrel. Which then are the parties? Those favouring Antonius are conquered; those opposing him are in the very heart of Gaius Cæsar's party, unless indeed we suppose that Cæsar's party is attacked by the consuls Hirtius and Pansa, and by Gaius Cæsar's son. But indeed this war is stirred up, not by party quarrelling, but by the disloyal hopes of the most abandoned citizens, on whose behalf our goods and fortunes have been surveyed and already portioned out to suit the views of each. I have read a letter which Antonius sent to a certain gallows-bird, his colleague in the septemvirate. 'Consider what you want,' he says; 'whatever you may fancy shall certainly be yours.' This is the man to whom we are to send an embassy, against whom we must not be in a hurry to make war, who has not even been content to leave our fortunes to the chances of a lottery, but has so completely given us up as a prey to the lust of his several followers, that he has not even left a single thing in his own power that is not already promised to somebody. With this man war, war, I say, my lords,

is the only mode of dealing, and that instantly: we must have no thought of anything so slow as embassies. And therefore, that we may not need to pass a number of decrees each day of our lives, I propose that the whole welfare of the state should be entrusted to the consuls, and that they should have authority to defend the state and to see that it receives no hurt; and I move that an amnesty be granted to those who are in the army of Marcus Antonius, if they leave him by February 1. If you pass this, my lords, in a short time you will recover your authority and the freedom of the Roman people; if you adopt a milder course, you will come to pass the same decrees, though possibly not quite so soon. I think that, so far as your motion related to the state, my present proposal is sufficient.

The second point is the distribution of honours: to which I see that I must next address my speech. But in honouring brave men, I will follow the order which is usual in asking senators for their votes. Let us begin, then, according to the custom of our forefathers, with Brutus, the consul-elect: and to pass over his earlier exploits, which are great indeed, but as yet find their meed of praise rather in unexpressed feeling than in public panegyric, in what words can I adequately express the praise which he has won by his conduct at this time? Nor, indeed, does such pre-eminent virtue require any reward save this of praise and fame: nay, if this be denied to it, still it would rest content in contemplation of itself; and yet it would rejoice at finding a record in the hearts of its grateful fellow-citizens, as being thus brought forth to view. We ought, therefore, to award to Brutus the tribute of our judgment, and our testimony to his merits. And therefore, my lords, I propose that a decree of the senate be passed in the following terms:—‘Whereas Decimus Brutus, imperator, consul-elect, is keeping the province of Gaul loyal to the senate and the Roman people, and whereas he has within so short a time enrolled and got together so large an army, amid the

13.

greatest zeal on the part of the borough towns and colonies of the province of Gaul, which has done and is doing good service to the state, that he has done all this rightly and in order, and to the advantage of the state; and that this signal service conferred by Decimus Brutus on the state is and will be grateful to the senate and the Roman people; (and) accordingly that the senate and the Roman people express their opinion that, by the energy and prudence and loyalty of Decimus Brutus, and by the marvellous zeal and unanimity of the province of Gaul, succour has been given to the state at a most momentous crisis.' What honour, my lords, can be greater than, is justly due to this important service done by Brutus, and to the generous aid which he has rendered to the state? For if Gaul had not been closed to Marcus Antonius, if the crushing of the borough towns and the want of preparation in the colonies had enabled him to make his way into Further Gaul, what panic would now be hanging over the state! The most insane of madmen, headlong in all his counsels, never constant in his course, would hesitate, I suppose, to wage war upon us, not only with his army, but with all the savageness of barbarous nations, so that we could not keep his fury within bounds, even with the wall presented by the Alps. These thanks, therefore, are due to Decimus Brutus, who, without waiting for the interposition of your authority, acting on his own responsibility, and following the dictates of his own judgment, did not receive Antonius as a consul, but shut him out as an enemy from Gaul, and thought it better that he should be besieged himself than that Rome should be attacked. Let him, therefore, have by our decree a never-dying record of this gallant and important deed; and let Gaul, which is and has always been the bulwark of our empire and our common liberty, receive the praises which are in very truth her due, for having made herself and her resources an obstacle to Antonius, instead of placing them at his disposal.

14.

And again, I propose that the fullest honours be

decreed to Marcus Lepidus for his distinguished services to the state. He has always wished the Roman people to be free, and gave the strongest proof of his feeling and opinion on the day when, as Antonius tried to place the crown on Cæsar's head, he turned aside, and showed by his groans and expressions of grief how he detested slavery, how he desired the Roman people to be free, how he had endured thus far rather from the pressure of the times than from conviction. And which of us can forget what moderation he displayed during that crisis of the state which followed on the death of Cæsar? These are no slight services: but I hasten on to speak of greater merits still. For what, in Heaven's name, could have won more ardent admiration from men of every country, what could have happened more in accordance with the wishes of the Roman people, than that, when the civil war was at its height, whose issue all of us were looking for with dread, it should have been extinguished by wisdom of counsel, instead of bringing matters to a crisis by violent recourse to arms! But if Cæsar had followed the same policy in that savage and miserable war, to say nothing of Gnaeus Pompeius himself, that noble and distinguished man, we should have alive among us his two sons, whose filial affection should not certainly have been deemed a crime. Would that Marcus Lepidus had been able to save all! He showed that, so far as lay in his power, he would have desired to do so, on the occasion when he restored to the state Sextus Pompeius, the greatest ornament of the republic, the noblest monument of his generosity. That was a heavy misfortune, a grievous fatality to the Roman people. After the death of the elder Pompeius, that light of the empire of the Roman people, the son, the image of his father, shared his fate. But all seemed to be atoned for in the eyes of the immortal gods, when Sextus Pompeius was preserved to the state.

And on these weighty and sufficient grounds, and inasmuch as by his tact and wisdom Marcus Lepidus has transformed a most dangerous and extensive civil

15.

war into a state of peace and harmony, I propose that a decree of the senate be recorded in the following terms:—‘Whereas the state has repeatedly been well and prosperously administered by Marcus Lepidus, imperator, pontifex maximus, so that the Roman people understand that despotism is of all things most repulsive to him, and whereas by his efforts and loyalty and discretion, and by his clemency and gentleness, a most bitter civil war has been extinguished; and whereas Sextus Pompeius Magnus, the son of Gnaeus, has laid down his arms in submission to the authority of the senate, and has been restored to his country by Marcus Lepidus, imperator, pontifex maximus, to the great satisfaction of the senate and the Roman people; be it decreed that the senate and the Roman people, in consideration of such a series of distinguished services rendered to the state by Marcus Lepidus, repose great hope in his loyalty and influence and good fortune of peace and concord and liberty, and that the senate and the Roman people will be mindful of his services to the state, and that the senate is pleased, in accordance with a vote of this House, that a gilded equestrian statue should be erected in his honour on the rostra or in any other part of the Forum which he may prefer.’ And this honour, my lords, appears to me a very great one, chiefly, because it is required by justice; for it is not bestowed on account of our hopes for the future, but it is awarded in payment for the most distinguished services: nor can we call to mind that this distinction has ever been conferred by the senate upon any one, while the judgment of the senate was free and untrammelled.

16. I come now, my lords, to Gaius Cæsar; for if he had not existed, which of us could now have been alive? For there was flying from Brundisium to the city a man of most unbridled passions, burning with malignant feeling, a foe in temper to all honest men, in arms against his country—in a word, Antonius. What was there to stop his audacity and wickedness? We had as yet no leaders, no forces: there was no

council of state, no liberty; we could but place our necks at the mercy of his lawless cruelty; we were all seeking flight, which itself presented no outlet. What god was it who at such a crisis supplied to us and to the Roman people this godlike youth, who, when everything that could complete our ruin was in the power of that pestilent citizen, appeared when no one could have looked for him, and got together an army to meet the fury of Marcus Antonius, before any one suspected that he thought of such a thing? Great honours were bestowed on Gnaeus Pompeius, while a youth, and that deservedly; for he came to the assistance of the state: but he was of a much more vigorous age, and had much more to support him in the zeal of the soldiers who were seeking for a general; and the war was of a different kind, for all did not admire the cause of Sulla; as is shown by the numerous proscriptions, and the heavy calamities of so many borough towns. But Cæsar, though many years younger, armed the veterans who were already seeking rest; he embraced the cause which would give the highest satisfaction to the senate, the people, the whole of Italy; in short, to gods and men alike. And Pompeius attached himself to the important command and victorious army of Lucius Sulla. Cæsar joined himself to no one; he had himself to start afresh in raising an army and securing our defence. Pompeius had Picenum, which was opposed to the party of his rivals; Cæsar levied his army against Antonius among men who were his rival's friends, though greater friends to liberty. Sulla made himself despot through the aid of Pompeius; the tyranny of Antonius has been put down by the measures which Cæsar adopted for our defence. Let us therefore give to Cæsar that authority as general, without which no military operations can be undertaken, no army held together, no war carried on; let him be pro-prætor, with as full privileges as one appointed in the ordinary way. It is an extraordinary honour at his age, but it is expedient for the exigencies of the campaign, as well as contributing to his dignity. Let us therefore

seek for this, which is as much as we shall gain to-day.

17. But I hope that both we and the Roman people will often have the opportunity of honouring this youth. On the present occasion I merely move this decree: 'Whereas Gaius Cæsar, the son of Gaius, pontifex and pro-prætor, at a most critical moment for the state, has exhorted the veterans to assert the liberty of the Roman people, and has enrolled them for service; and whereas the Martian and fourth legions are defending and have defended the liberty of the Roman people, with the greatest zeal and most unanimous loyalty to the state, under the command and at the persuasion of Gaius Cæsar; and whereas Gaius Cæsar, pro-prætor, has set out with an army to the assistance of the province of Gaul, and has brought under submission to himself and to the Roman people the foreign cavalry, and bowmen, and elephants, and has supported the safety and dignity of the Roman people at a most critical emergency of the state: for these reasons it is the pleasure of the senate that Gaius Cæsar, son of Gaius, pontifex maximus, pro-prætor, should be a senator, and give his vote from the place allotted to the prætors, and that whenever he shall be a candidate for any magistracy, votes shall be received for him as they might have been had he been quæstor in the preceding year.' For what reason is there, my lords, why we should not desire him to attain the highest offices at the earliest possible date? For when a later age was fixed for the consulship by the laws which regulate the age at which the several offices might be held, it was through fear of the temerity of youth. Gaius Cæsar has shown at the very outset that eminent and extraordinary virtue need not wait for the march of years. Accordingly our forefathers, those ancient men of primitive simplicity, had no laws upon the subject; they were introduced many years later by rivalry for office, that the struggles for the several steps of office might take place among men of the same age. Thus often a great capacity for virtue has been lost to

us before it could be of any use to the republic. Yet in olden times the Rulli, Decii, Corvini, and many others, and in more recent days the elder Africanus and Titus Flamininus, having been elected consuls quite as youths, achieved such exploits, that they have increased the power and adorned the name of the Roman people. Nay, did not Alexander of Macedon meet his death when he was thirty-two, having begun to perform the greatest exploits from the very outset of his life? and this is ten years earlier than our laws permit men to be consuls. From this we may infer that the progress of valour is more swift than that of age.

For what those who envy Cæsar feign to dread is no subject even for our apprehension. Fear not that he will be unable to restrain or to control himself, or that, being intoxicated with the honours which we confer on him, he will make a bad use of his resources. It is only human nature, my lords, that when a man has grasped the meaning of true glory, and has felt that he is esteemed by the senate and knights and the entire Roman people as a citizen worthy of their love and as the saviour of the state, he should think that nothing bears comparison with this glory. Would that the elder Gaius Cæsar, my lords, had had the good fortune in his youth to win the warm affection of the senate and of every loyal citizen! Having neglected to secure this, he spent the whole force of his consummate genius in humouring the popular caprice. And so, as he had no consideration for the senate or the virtuous portion of the citizens, he opened for himself a way for the enlargement of his power, which the valour of a free people could not bear. The system of his son is diametrically opposed to this: he is the favourite of all, and best beloved by those who are most virtuous themselves. In him rests our hope of liberty; he has already proved himself our saviour; the highest honours are already sought out and prepared for him. When we are marvelling at his extraordinary discretion, shall we fear that he will be a fool? For what is more foolish than to prefer profitless power, obnoxious

18.

wealth, a foolhardy and precarious desire for a despot's throne, to genuine, influential, and substantial fame? Has he seen this as a boy, and will he not see it as he advances in years? But he is a personal enemy, you will say, to some of the noblest and most loyal citizens. That need cause no fear. Cæsar has sacrificed all his private animosities to the welfare of the state; he has made the state his judge, the regulator of all his counsels and of all his deeds. His entrance on public life is a guarantee that he will establish, not destroy, the commonwealth. Nothing is dearer to him than the republic, nothing more sacred than your authority, nothing more desirable than the good opinion of loyal citizens, nothing sweeter than true glory. And therefore, so far from fearing anything from him, you ought to hope for yet greater and more glorious deeds. Nor should you be afraid that he who has set out to release Decimus Brutus from blockade will nurse the memory of a domestic grief, so that it should weigh more with him than the safety of the state. I will even venture to pass my word, my lords, to you and to the Roman people and to the state at large; which, generally speaking, in the absence of compulsion, I should not dare to do, fearing in a matter of such importance the perilous reputation of foolhardiness; I promise, I undertake, I pledge myself, that Gaius Cæsar will always be such a citizen as he has proved himself to-day, and as we ought above all things to wish and pray that he may be.

19. This being so, I shall have said enough about Cæsar for this time. But yet I do not think that we should pass over in silence the name of so gallant, steadfast, and loyal a citizen as Lucius Egnatuleius, but we should bear testimony to his most admirable conduct in having brought the fourth legion to Cæsar, to aid in the defence of the consuls, the senate, the Roman people, and the commonwealth. I therefore move that 'it is the pleasure of the senate that Lucius Egnatuleius should be allowed to seek, to hold, and to discharge the duties of the several magistracies, three years

before the time appointed by the laws.' And in this, my lords, Lucius Egnatuleius gains not so much advantage as honour; for in such a case it is sufficient to be named. And in favour of the army of Gaius Cæsar I propose the following decree: 'It is the pleasure of the senate that the veterans who, placing themselves at the disposal of Cæsar, the pontifex, have maintained and are maintaining the authority of the senate and the freedom of the Roman people, should be exempt with their children from military service; and that the consuls Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, one or both of them, if they see no objection, should ascertain what land there is in the colonies in which veterans have been planted which is held in violation of the Julian law, to the intent that it may be divided among the veterans; that they should make a separate inquiry about the land in Campania, and devise a plan for increasing the privileges of the veterans; and it is the senate's pleasure that the Martian and fourth legions, with those soldiers of the second and thirty-fifth legions who came to the consuls Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, and attached themselves to their army, seeing that the authority of the senate and the freedom of the Roman people is and has been throughout their first consideration, shall with their children be exempt from military service, except in the case of a civil war or an invasion of the Gauls; and that on the completion of the present war those legions shall be at once discharged from further service; and it is the pleasure of the senate that such sums of money as have been promised to the soldiers in those legions by Gaius Cæsar, pontifex and pro-prætor, shall be paid to one and all of them; and that the consuls Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, one or both of them, if they see no objections, shall take account of the land which can be divided without interfering with the rights of the previous proprietors, and shall give and assign them to the soldiers as aforesaid, the Martian and fourth legions, in allotments on the largest scale that has ever been adopted in giving and assigning land to soldiers.' I

have spoken, consuls, to all the points which you have laid before us ; and if the decrees which I have proposed be passed without delay and in good time, you will the more easily prepare the measures which the crisis and its needs demand. But there is need of promptitude. If we had shown that before, as I have often said, we should have now been free from war.

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE SIXTH ORATION.



AT the close of the debate in the senate, on January 4, Cicero came out into the Forum, and, being introduced to the assembled people by Publius Apuleius, a tribune of the commons, he told them what had taken place.

This forms the sixth oration, in which he shows again the absurdity and danger of sending envoys to Antonius, and so delaying the declaration of war. The war itself he declares to be inevitable, considering the character of Antonius and his associates, especially his brother Lucius; but he urges the people to wait patiently for the return of the ambassadors, and to be firm in seconding his efforts to maintain their liberty.

THE SIXTH ORATION.

I. I IMAGINE that you must have heard already, Romans, what has taken place in the senate, and how each senator has voted. For the debate which began on January 1 has just ended in a resolution, less stringent than it should have been, but yet not wholly without strength. The war has been postponed, but not its cause removed. Wherefore, in compliance with the request of Publius Apuleius, a man with whom I am intimately connected by the receipt of many kindnesses, and who is devoted to your interests, I will make such a statement as will let you know the nature of the proceedings at which you were not present. The reason why our brave and excellent consuls brought the condition of the state before the senate on January 1 is to be found in the decree which it passed on my proposal on December 20. On that day, Romans, the foundations of the commonwealth were for the first time laid; for then after a long interval the senate was so fully free, that you were once again enjoying liberty. At which time, even if that day had been destined to close my life, I had yet received sufficient reward, when you all with one mind and one mouth cried out that I had been the saviour of the commonwealth for a second time. Excited by this important and flattering judgment on your part, I entered the senate on January 1, fully impressed with the recollection of the character which you had given me to sustain. Accordingly, when I saw that a wicked war had been commenced against the state, I thought that

no time was to be lost in pursuing Marcus Antonius, and I proposed that we should declare war against the audacious man who, after many previous crimes, was now attacking a general of the Roman people, and besieging one of your bravest and most loyal colonies. I moved that a state of siege should be proclaimed, and the law courts closed. I urged that the senate should resolve that the garb of war should be assumed, that all might apply themselves more eagerly and seriously to avenging the wrongs of the republic, if they saw all the emblems of a most serious war adopted by the senate. Accordingly this view, Romans, so absolutely prevailed for three days, that though no manifestation of opinion was publicly made, yet it seemed that all except a few would vote with me. To-day something, I know not what, has intervened to make the senate less severe. For the majority voted for the proposal that we should send an embassy to ascertain how much the authority of the senate and your unanimous demonstration was likely to avail in dealing with Antonius.

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I gather, Romans, that this decision is not endorsed by you; and you are right. To whom is our embassy? To the man who, after dissipating and squandering the public money, after forcing laws upon the state in violent defiance of the auspices, after dispersing a public meeting, and investing the senate with troops, has summoned legions from Brundisium for the destruction of the state, and, being left by them, has forced his way into Gaul with a band of brigands, and is now attacking Brutus and besieging Mutina? What interchange of terms, what common ground of equity can you have in an embassy to a gladiator like this? And yet, Romans, this is not an embassy, but a declaration of war, unless he obeys: for thus it is decreed, as though our envoys were sent on an embassy to Hannibal. For they are sent to tell him not to attack the consul-elect, not to besiege Mutina, not to lay waste the province, not to raise levies, but to submit to the senate and Roman people. It will be easy for him to comply with this demand, and submit to the control

of the senators and yourselves, when he has never been accustomed to control himself! For what did he ever do of his own deliberate choice? He has ever been drawn away where he was hurried by his lust, his caprice, his madness, or his love of wine. He has always been the slave of the two different classes of ruffians and pimps; he is so fascinated by harlotries at home, and murders in the Forum, that he has always obeyed the most covetous of women sooner than the senate and the Roman people.

And so I will do before you what I did just now in the senate. I protest, I solemnly declare, I prophesy **beforehand**, that Marcus Antonius will not do any one of the things which the envoys are instructed to require; that he will lay waste the lands, that he will besiege Mutina, that he will raise troops in any way he can. For he is a man who has always despised the opinion and authority of the senate, and the wishes and power of the people. Would he comply with the recent decree, and lead his army back across the Rubicon, which is the boundary of Gaul, with the proviso that he should not come within 200 miles of Rome? Would Antonius obey this injunction? — Antonius allow himself to be confined between the Rubicon and the two hundredth milestone? Antonius is not at all that sort of man. If he had been, he would never have gone so far as to let the senate send him a message, as they sent to Hannibal at the beginning of the Punic war, to bid him not to besiege Saguntum. Again, what disgrace, what censure from the senate is involved in this, that while withdrawn from Mutina, he is yet ordered, as a pestilent firebrand, to keep away from Rome! Why, the envoys are instructed by the senate to go to Decimus Brutus and his soldiers, and to inform them that their distinguished services and loyalty to the state have won the gratitude of the senate and the Roman people, and that what they have done will result in great praise and honour to themselves; and do you think that Antonius will allow the envoys to enter Mutina, and come safe out again? Not he, in faith.

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I know his violence, I know his impudence, I know his audacity. We ought not to think of him as of a man, but as some most ravenous beast. This being so, the decree of the senate is not entirely without force. The embassy has some vigour in it. I wish it had not also some delay. For, hateful as sloth and procrastination are in almost all campaigns, yet a war like this especially calls for promptitude. Decimus Brutus must be relieved; all the forces possible raised everywhere. It were a crime to let a single hour pass before releasing a citizen like this. If he had deemed Antonius to be consul, and Gaul to be his province, might he not have given Antonius his legions and his province, and himself returning home to triumph, have had the first precedence of voting in this House, till he entered on his consulship? What was there to hinder him? But, remembering that he was a Brutus, born to promote your freedom, not his own convenience, his whole efforts have been employed to exclude Antonius from Gaul, though his own body were needed as the barrier. Is it envoys or legions that should be sent to such a man as this? But enough of the past. Let the envoys make all speed, as I can see they will. Do you prepare the garb of war. For it is provided in the decree that, should he not submit to the authority of the senate, the people must be armed. It will be; he will not obey; we shall lament that we have lost so many days from the campaign.

4. I am not apprehensive, Romans, that Antonius will change his policy when he hears of my asserting in the senate and at this meeting that he will now submit to our authority; or that he will obey the senate, in order to prove me wrong and devoid of foresight. He will never do it; he will not grudge me this honour; he will think it a less evil that you should think me wise, than that you should think him modest. Nay; if he should wish it himself, can we think that his brother Lucius would allow it? It is said that recently, at Tibur, I believe, he threatened to kill his brother, when he seemed to waver. Will the orders of the senate,

the words of the envoys, be attended to also by this Asian gladiator? Nor can Lucius, indeed, be separated from his brother; especially considering his influence with the soldiers. For with them he is an Africanus; he has more weight with them than Lucius Trebellius or Titus Plancus, or than the noble youth . . .¹ As for Plancus, who, after being unanimously condemned to your great satisfaction, somehow mixed himself up with the crowd of returning exiles, and came back so sad that he seemed to have been dragged back rather than recalled, he despised him as though he were a transported felon. He says at times that there ought to be no place in the senate for the man who burned the senate-house. Trebellius, however, he now loves deeply; he hated him as the opponent of an abolition of debts, but as he has now seen that without such abolition Trebellius himself is lost, he cannot bear him out of his sight. For I suppose that you have heard, Romans, what you may have seen with your own eyes, that the sureties and creditors of Lucius Trebellius are holding daily meetings. O Honour!—for I believe that Trebellius has assumed this surname—what higher honour can there be than to cheat one's creditors? to be an outcast from home? to be forced by debt to war? Where is the applause that you won at the triumph, and often at the games? Where is the ædileship, which loyal men so vied in giving you? Who is there who does not think that this man acted well by chance, but ill by his natural depravity?

But I return to your love and sweetheart, Lucius Antonius, who has taken you all under his protection. Do you deny it? Is there any one of you who does not belong to a tribe? I presume not. But all the thirty-five tribes have adopted him as their patron. What! dissent again? Look at that gilt equestrian statue on the left. What is the inscription on it? '*To their Patron, from the thirty-five tribes.*' Lucius Antonius, therefore, is the patron of the Roman people.

5.

¹ The genuine reading here is hopelessly lost.

Curses on him ! for I fully sympathise with that shout. To say nothing of this ruffian, whom no one would wish to have among his dependents, was there ever any one so rich or so distinguished as to dare to call himself the patron of the Roman people, the conqueror and ruler of the world ? In the Forum we see before the temple of Castor the statue of Lucius Antonius, like that of Quintus Tremulus, the conqueror of the Hernici. O, marvellous impudence ! Is it because he cut the throat of his comrade, the Thracian gladiator, at Mylasa, that he has taken so much upon himself ? How could we bear it, if he had fought in this Forum, before your very eyes ? But this is one statue. A second is erected by the eighteen centuries of knights, who also dedicate it '*To their Patron.*' Whom did the knights ever adopt as their patron ? If anyone, it should have been myself. But of that I say nothing. What censor, what general, has been so honoured ? But Antonius, you say, divided land among them. How mean, if they accepted it ! How shameless, if he offered it ! Another was erected by the military tribunes who had twice filled that office in the army of Cæsar. What kind of body is that ? There must have been a large number of them in so many legions in the course of so many years. Among them he divided the Semurium. The Campus Martius alone was left, if he had not first fled with his brother. But this distribution of lands was cancelled a short time ago, Romans, on the proposal of Lucius Cæsar, a most distinguished man and most illustrious senator ; for we supported him in annulling the acts of the Septemviri. So all the favours of Nucula are lost ; the patronage of Antonius is at zero. For the allottees of the public land will depart with greater equanimity ; they had expended no capital upon it ; they had not stocked it, partly from want of confidence, partly from want of money. But the palm is carried off by a statue of which in better times I could not speak without a smile—'*To their Patron, Lucius Antonius, from the bankers in the city.*' Is it really so ? The banking interest among the dependents of Lucius Antonius ?

Whoever was found among their number to give Lucius Antonius credit for ten pounds?

But enough of trifles. Let us return to our subject and the war, although it has not been irrelevant that certain characters should be reviewed by you, that you might consider quietly with whom you are at war. But I entreat you, Romans, even though a different course might have been preferred, to await with calmness the return of the envoys. Something has been lost in promptitude, but it is not altogether loss. For when the envoys report, as certainly they will, that Antonius will not submit to you or to the senate, who will be so utterly devoid of decency as to think that he should be accounted still a citizen? For now there are some men, not many it is true, but more than there should be in the state, who say to us, 'Are we not even to wait for the envoys?' A time will surely come when the mere course of events will force them to give up that watchword and semblance of clemency. And on this account, Romans, to tell the truth, I was less persistent in my endeavours to-day; less earnest in my attempt to persuade the senate to agree to my proposal, and proclaim a state of siege, and the general adoption of the military garb. I thought it more desirable that my proposal should meet with universal praise twenty days hence, than that it should be censured by a few to-day. Therefore, Romans, wait for the return of the envoys, and swallow down the annoyance of a few days. When they return, if they bring peace, then deem me blinded by passion; if war, then grant me the merit of foresight. Ought I not to look out carefully for the interests of my fellow-citizens? Ought I not, night and day, to be thinking of your liberty, and the safety of the state? For what is there, Romans, which I do not owe to you, when you have raised me, a man with no parentage to boast of, to all the offices of state, in preference to men of the highest family? Am I ungrateful? Who was ever less so? For, after attaining my position, I laboured as assiduously in the Forum as when seeking it. Am I a

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novice in the state? Who is more experienced than I, who have now, these twenty years, been waging war against disloyal citizens?

7. Wherefore, Romans, with such prudence as I can, and with exertions almost beyond my power, I will keep watch and vigil on your behalf. For what citizen is there, especially in the position in which you have been pleased to place me, who has been so forgetful of your kindness, so unmindful of his country, so opposed to his own dignity, as not to be aroused and inflamed by such unanimity of opinion on your part? As consul I have held, I have been present at many important meetings. I never saw any equal to the one at which you are to-day. You all unite in one feeling, one desire, to turn aside the attacks of Marcus Antonius from the state, to allay his frenzy, to crush his daring. All orders have the same wish; the borough towns, the colonies, the whole of Italy is bent on the same purpose. Accordingly, your authority has added strength to the firm determination of the senate. The time has come, Romans, later than is consistent with the honour of the Roman people; but now it is so fully ripe that the hour can no longer be deferred. We have experienced a misfortune, brought on us, so to speak, by destiny, which we have borne as best we might. Now any further disaster will be of our own seeking. The will of heaven forbids the Roman people to be slaves; the immortal gods have destined them to sway the empire of the world. Matters have at length come to a crisis; the struggle is for liberty. You, as Romans, should either win the victory, which your loyalty and your unanimity will assuredly accomplish for you, or you should do anything rather than be slaves. Other nations may put up with slavery; it is the birthright of the Roman people to be free.

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE SEVENTH ORATION.



DURING the absence of the envoys, the consuls summoned a meeting of the senate on business connected with the Appian Road, the temple of Juno Moneta, and the festival of the Lupercalia, probably early in February. Cicero took the opportunity to deliver one of his most eloquent speeches on the crisis in the state, urging the senate not to listen to the arguments urged by the friends of Antonius, who desired a peace which was neither honourable nor expedient for the country, unless, indeed, it was founded on absolute submission from Antonius, which was more than anyone could hope for.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

THE SEVENTH ORATION.

THE subjects for our discussion, my lords, are unimportant, but perhaps imperative. The consul has a motion about the Appian Way and the temple of Moneta, the tribune one about the Luperci. There seems to be no difficulty in settling such affairs as these; but amid the suspense which greater cares inflict on us, the attention wanders from the matter in hand. We are in a position, my lords, of extreme danger—a more critical state of affairs can hardly be conceived. It is not without cause that I have always feared, and never liked the sending of envoys, the issue of whose return is still uncertain; but who does not see what discouragement is caused by the suspense? For there is nothing like self-restraint in the men who are grieved that the senate has recovered strength enough to hope for the renewal of its ancient power; that the Roman people are acting in harmony with this House; that Italy is unanimous in its desire for action; that the armies are prepared, the generals ready. Even now they are inventing and justifying answers for Antonius. Some say that he requires the disbanding of all troops. I suppose we sent envoys to him, not that he might obey and listen to the orders of this House, but that he might propose terms, enforce conditions, order us to remove the forces which bar Italy against her foreign foes, and this, too, while he is safe from whom more danger is to be feared than from any nation upon earth. Others say that he gives up Hither Gaul to us, and demands the Further Gaul. A modest

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request ! in order that he may try to bring from it not legions only, but whole nations against Rome. Others say that all his demands are now quite moderate. Macedonia he calls entirely his own, since his brother Gaius was recalled from it. But what province is there which that firebrand cannot set ablaze ? And so these same men, assuming the part of far-sighted citizens and careful senators, declare that I have sounded a war note ; they undertake themselves the cause of peace. Is not this their line of argument ? Antonius should not have been provoked ; he is a bold and wicked man. There are many other unscrupulous men besides ; they might begin the reckoning with themselves, if this is what they say ; and against these they bid us be on our guard. Should we then, in dealing with traitors, take more care to be afraid of them, or to punish them when there is a chance ?

2. And men speak thus whose frivolity in former days made them seem to be hunting after popularity. And from this we may understand that this seeking for popularity arose from no love of the people, but from disloyalty towards the state. Otherwise how comes it about that they who have taken the popular side in evil measures show that they had rather be wicked than popular in a matter which essentially concerns the people's interest, because it is at the same time conducive to the safety of the state ? Indeed, as you know, this noblest of causes has brought popularity to me, the consistent opponent of the people's rashness. And they indeed are called, or rather call themselves, consulars, a name which none deserve to bear, save those who can sustain so great a dignity. Would you favour the enemy ? would you receive letters from him about his hopes of success ? would you take delight in producing them and reading them aloud ? would you even give them to wicked citizens to copy ? would you give them encouragement ? would you weaken the hopes and the loyalty of the good ? and would you then suppose yourself a consular or a senator, or, in short, a citizen ? Gaius Pansa, that bravest and most

loyal consul, will take what I am going to say in good part. For I will speak in the most friendly spirit; but I should not consider even him, my dearest friend, a consul, unless he were consul in such wise as to spend all his watchfulness, his care, his thoughts, upon the safety of the state. As a matter of fact he has been endeared to us from his earliest years by his habits of life, by our familiarity with him, by his association and sympathy with the most honourable pursuits; and his marvellous assiduity amid the fiercest dangers of civil war has shown us by experience that he is a supporter not only of my safety but of my honour; but at the same time, as I have said, if he were not a consul such as I have described, I should deny his claim to the title. For my part, I not only acknowledge that he is a consul, but I say that he stands forward prominently as the most patriotic consul that I can remember; not that others have not possessed the same virtuous and loyal disposition, but they have not had so great occasion of manifesting their loyalty and their virtues. An opening has been given to Pansa's highmindedness, his solidity of character, his wisdom, in a moment of extraordinary danger. But lustre is added to the consulship, when the consul stands forth as the pilot of the state, at the moment of its need, if not so soon as we could wish. And a moment of more pressing need, my lords, has never been.

I therefore—the man who has always advised peace, and to whom peace, especially at home, has been an object of even more ardent desire than it is to all good men, seeing that the whole course of my labours has been passed in the Forum, in the senate, in repelling danger from my friends; from such pursuits I have won the highest honours of the state, a moderate competency, and any reputation which I possess—I therefore, the fosterchild, if I may use the term, of peace, who, whatever my position—for I do not wish to exaggerate my claims—should assuredly not have stood so high without domestic peace:—I speak at my peril, and have considerable fear, my lords, how you

3.

may take it; but in consideration of my constant desire to maintain and even to increase your dignity, I beg and pray of you, my lords, however bitter it may be to hear, however difficult to believe that it has come from Marcus Cicero's mouth, yet hear what I shall say without offence, and do not reject it before I tell you what it really means:—I—I say it again—I who have ever been the eulogist and adviser of peace, refuse to vote for peace with Marcus Antonius. I enter with great hope, my lords, on the remainder of my speech, since I have passed the most dangerous point without interruption. Why then am I so loth for peace? because it is disgraceful, because it is dangerous, because it cannot be. And while I explain these three points, I entreat you, my lords, to listen with your usual kindness to my words. What is more disgraceful in individuals, and more especially in the senate as a body, than inconsistency, caprice, and want of steadfastness? or what again is more inconsistent than suddenly to wish for peace with a man whom you have lately declared a public enemy, if not in express words, at any rate practically in more than one decree? Unless indeed you did not declare that Antonius was an enemy when you decreed honours to Gaius Cæsar, which, however well deserved and due, were yet extraordinary and imperishable, simply because he had got together an army against Antonius; or unless Antonius was not pronounced to be an enemy when the veterans were praised by a vote of the senate for having followed Gaius Cæsar, or when you promised exemption from service, money, and lands to those brave legions, because they had left the man who was called a consul while he was an enemy.

4. What? did you not declare Antonius an enemy when you bestowed the highest praise on Brutus, who was born with all the prestige of that name and family, for the delivery of Rome? or when you praised his army, which was waging war with Antonius on behalf of the liberty of the Roman people? or when you praised the province of Gaul, so conspicuous for its faithfulness and

loyalty? Again, when you decreed that the consuls, one or both of them, should proceed to the seat of war, what war was there if Antonius was not an enemy? Or why has that brave man Aulus Hirtius set out, my dear friend and colleague? aye, in spite of his weakness and his wasted frame. But the weakness of his body could not keep back his strength of resolution. I suppose he thought it right, in behalf of the liberty of the Roman people, to risk the life which he owed to their prayers. Again, when you ordered a levy to be held throughout the whole of Italy, when you suspended all furloughs, then was he not judged to be an enemy? You see armourers' forges established in the city; armed soldiers follow in the train of the consul; they form a guard ostensibly for the consul, but in reality for us; all, without making excuses, are with the greatest readiness enrolling their names for service, and obeying your commands. Is Antonius not pronounced an enemy? But yet we sent an embassy. Ah, woe is me! Why am I constrained to censure the senate which I have always praised? What? do you think, my lords, that you have convinced the Roman people that it was well to send an embassy? Do you not comprehend, do you not hear, that they are calling loudly for the policy which I advised? the policy which you adopted one day in a full House, and then the next you sank to the unsubstantial hope of peace. How disgraceful, moreover, it is that the legions should send an embassy to the senate, the senate an embassy to Antonius! Although this last is not an embassy, it is a solemn declaration that ruin is prepared for him, unless he will obey the senate. Not that this makes any difference. What the people think is more important. For they all see that an embassy has been sent; they have not all heard the terms of our decree.

You must therefore maintain your consistency, your firmness of character, your steadfastness; you must have recourse once more to your ancient sternness, if, indeed, the authority of the senate misses the honour, the reputation, the praise, the dignity, which this

House has been too long without. But then there was some excuse in our oppression, a miserable excuse enough, but yet a valid one; now we have no plea to urge at all. We seemed to have been freed from the tyranny of kings; a long time afterwards we were subjected to the heavier tyranny of citizens in arms. These arms we have driven from our walls; they must be wrested from the traitors' hands. If this cannot be done—I will speak as beseems a senator and a Roman—we must die. For what a disgrace, what a dishonour, what a stain on the republic will it be, that Marcus Antonius should speak in this House from his seat as a consular! For, to say nothing of the countless crimes of his consulship in the city, in which he has wasted vast sums of public money, has recalled exiles without the sanction of the law, has sold the revenues piecemeal, has wiped out provinces from the empire of Rome, has given over kingdoms to the highest bidder, has imposed laws upon the state by force, has either besieged the senate or prevented it from meeting by force of arms; to say nothing, I repeat, of these things, do you not even consider how foul and iniquitous it would be for the man who has besieged Mutina, so staunch a colony of the Roman people, with the consul-elect, and who has ravaged our territory, to be received into the ranks of the senate, by whom he has so often been adjudged an enemy for these very crimes? But enough of the disgrace. I will next go on to speak, as I proposed, of the danger; for though we should shrink less from it than from disgrace, yet it is more of a stumbling-block with the majority of men.

6. Will you, then, have any security for this peace, when you see Marcus Antonius, or rather the Antonii, in the state? unless, indeed, you take no account of Lucius. For my part, I do not think that even Gaius can with safety be despised. But, as I see, Lucius will be the tyrant; for he is the patron of the thirty-five tribes, whose vote he took away by his law, when he divided the magistracies in partnership with Gaius Cæsar; he is patron of the centuries of Roman knights,

whom he also wished to be without their votes ; he is the patron of those who have been military tribunes ; patron of the guild of bankers. Who will be able to endure this man's power, especially when he shall have endowed these clients with allotments of the public lands ? Who was ever patron of all the tribes ?—of the Roman knights ?—of the military tribunes ? Do you suppose that the Gracchi had greater power than this gladiator will have ? And I have called him gladiator, not in the sense in which Marcus Antonius also is sometimes so called, but as the term is used by those who speak the simplest Latin. He fought as a ' myrmillo ' in Asia. Having dressed up his comrade and friend in the arms of a Thracian, he cut the wretched man's throat as he fled away, receiving himself, however, a serious blow, as you may see by the scar. If he has murdered his friend, what will he do upon occasion to his enemy ? If he did this by way of sport, what, think you, will he not do by way of plunder ? Will he not again place scoundrels on the judicial bench ? Will he not again rouse those who are desirous of land ? Will he not bemoan the lot of those who lose their lands ? Will he not, in short, be Marcus Antonius, to whom, whenever there is any disturbance, all the abandoned citizens throng in crowds ? Suppose there were no one but those who are with him, or who here now openly support his cause, will there not be men enough, especially as they will be ready to obey Antonius without demur, and all the succour of the loyal citizens will be lost to us ? But I am much afraid that, if we fail to follow prudent counsels at the present time, they will very soon appear to us too numerous. Nor is it that I am unwilling for peace, but I shrink from war disguised beneath the name of peace. Wherefore, if we wish for peace, we must wage war ; if we will not go to war, we shall never have peace.

But your character for prudence calls upon you, my lords, to make provision, as far as possible, beforehand for posterity. It is for this we have been placed in this post of guardianship, this watch-tower, as it

7.

were, that by our vigilance and foresight we might relieve the Roman people from all fear. It is a disgrace, especially in so clear a case, that the highest deliberative body in the world should be understood to be wanting in prudence and deliberation. We have such consuls, such readiness on the part of the Roman people, such unanimous feeling to back us throughout Italy, such generals, such armies, that no calamity can befall the state save by the senate's fault. I will not be wanting on my part. I will warn, I will foretell, I will denounce, I will even call both gods and men to witness what I feel. I will not only pledge my faith, which may seem to be enough, but in the leader of a party is not enough. I will bestow my care, my prudence, and my watchfulness upon the task.

8. I have spoken of the danger. I will show that peace cannot be patched up; this is the last of the three points which I proposed. What peace can there be, in the first place, between Marcus Antonius and the senate? How will he look on you, or you in turn on him? Which of you does not hate him, or which of you does he not hate? And tell me, is this mutual hatred confined to you and him? Will the men who are besieging Mutina, who are levying troops in Gaul, the men who are threatening your fortunes, be ever friends to you, or you to them? Will he embrace the Roman knights? For they made no display, of course, of their feelings and opinions about Antonius. They only stood in crowds upon the steps of the temple of Concord; they only urged us on to recover our liberty; they only called for arms, and the military garb, and war; they only joined the Roman people in asking me to address them at a public meeting; and will they love Antonius, and will Antonius keep peace with them? For what shall I say of the Roman people as a whole, who twice in a full and crowded Forum, with one heart and one voice, invited me to speak to them, and showed the strongest desire to regain their liberty? And so, whereas before it was desirable to have the Roman people to follow us, now they go before to lead the way. What

hope, then, is there of peace between the Roman people and the men who are besieging Mutina, and blockading the general and the army of the Roman people? Will he make peace with the borough towns, which have shown such conspicuous zeal in passing decrees, in providing soldiers, in promising money, that in reviewing the conduct of the several towns, you nowhere feel the absence of the Roman senate? The citizens of Firmum deserve that we should praise them by a resolution of this House, for they were the first to promise money; the Marrucini are entitled to an honourable acknowledgment, who passed a resolution that any who evaded military service should be branded with disgrace. Their example will be followed throughout Italy. There will be intense peace on either side between Antonius and men like these. What greater discord can there be? and in the midst of discord domestic harmony is impossible. To say nothing of the general mass, take Lucius Visidius, a Roman knight, a man of the highest distinction and most scrupulous honour, a citizen of unfailing excellence, whose watchfulness and care for my person I experienced in my consulship. To such a man as this, who deserves the formal praises of the senate, will Antonius be ever reconciled? What shall I say of Gaius Cæsar, who shut him out from the city? —of Decimus Brutus, who kept him out of Gaul? Will he be reconciled to them? Nay, will he now bring himself to look with kindly and gentle feelings on the province of Gaul, which has refused to admit him or acknowledge his authority? If you are not on your guard, my lords, you will soon see everything filled full of hatred and discord, the constant sources of civil war. Cease, then, to wish for that which is impossible; and, in Heaven's name, beware, my lords, lest in the hope of present peace you lose a peace which shall endure.

But you will ask me what I mean by all this speech, or as yet we do not know what the ambassadors have done. But notwithstanding this, we ought to be by now aroused, on the alert, ready, armed in spirit, that

9.

we may not be deceived by a soft or suppliant speech, or by a pretence of fair dealing. He must yield to us in all that we have forbidden or commanded him to do, before he claim a hearing for his demands; he must cease to blockade Brutus and his army, and to ravage the cities and lands of the province of Gaul; he must give the envoys facilities for going to Brutus; he must bring his army to this side of the Rubicon, and yet not within 200 miles of Rome; he must submit to the authority of the senate and the Roman people. If he does this, the question will be open for deliberation; if he refuses obedience to the senate, he will have declared war against the Roman people, not the senate against him. But I give you full warning, my lords; the liberty of the Roman people is at stake, which is entrusted to your care, together with the lives and fortunes of every loyal citizen, against which Antonius has long been directing a combination of boundless avarice and savage cruelty; and your authority is at stake, which will cease to exist if you do not assert it now. And so beware, my lords, that you do not let this foul and deadly beast escape from the net in which he is now so firmly enclosed. And you too, Pansa, though you scarcely need the advice which you are so competent to give yourself—but yet even the most skilful pilots take advice from the passengers amid the perils of a storm—even you I warn not to suffer the vast and noble resources now at your command to fall away to nothing. You have an opportunity such as no one ever had before. With this firm resolution of the senate, this zeal of the knights, this eagerness of the Roman people to support you, you may free the state for ever both from danger and from fear.

With regard to the motion before the House, I second the resolution of Publius Servilius.

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE EIGHTH ORATION.



Of the envoys who were sent to Antonius, Servius Sulpicius died soon after they left Rome. The others—Lucius Piso and Lucius Philippus—found Antonius impracticable, and they returned home with no other result than a series of counter-propositions which he persuaded them to lay before the senate.

On this being done, the greatest indignation was expressed, and measures were immediately taken against Antonius, the city being declared to be in a state of *tumult*. Cicero took no prominent part in the debate, but on the following day he delivered the protest against any half-measures, and the invective against Antonius and his followers, which form the eighth oration.

Its exact date is uncertain, but the last chapter shows it to have been before March 15.

THE EIGHTH ORATION.

1. **EVERYTHING** was done yesterday, Gaius Pansa, in a less regular manner than you were entitled to expect from the beginning of your consulship. You seemed to me too feeble in withstanding the attack of those to whom you do not generally yield. For though the senate showed its usual integrity, and though all men saw that there was really war, yet when certain persons were against the employment of that name, you took the side of leniency on the matter coming to a division. Our motion, therefore, was rejected on your proposal, because of the harshness of a word. That of Lucius Cæsar was accepted, though that most honourable man, in removing the rigour of an expression, has made his resolution lenient rather in language than in reality. And yet, before he gave his vote, he pleaded his relationship to Antonius in its excuse. When I was consul he had done the same, in the case of his sister's husband, that he now did for her son; in both cases combining care for the public interest with sympathy for his sister's grief. And yet Cæsar in a sort of way, my lords, himself enjoined you not to vote with him, when he said that his would have been a different vote, worthy both of himself and of the state, had he not been trammelled by his relationship. His, then, was an uncle's vote. Were you, too, uncles to Antonius, who gave your votes with him?

But what was the matter in dispute? Some persons did not wish the word '*war*' to be inserted in the decree. They preferred to call it a '*tumult*,' in their

ignorance not only of the state of things, but of the very meaning of the words. For there can be a war without its being a tumult; there cannot be a tumult without its being war. For what is a tumult but so great and general a confusion as to cause excessive fear, which, indeed, is the meaning of the Latin word. And so our ancestors applied the name to a revolt of the Italians, which is really civil war, and to an inroad of the Gauls, which is a war upon our very borders, and to nothing else. And you may see that tumult is more serious than war from the fact that exemptions from service are allowed in war, but suspended in a tumult. And so, as I said before, there may be war without a tumult, there cannot be a tumult without war. For since there is no intermediate state between peace and war, if a tumult is not a species of war, it must be a species of peace, and what can be said or imagined that is more absurd than this? But too much about a word: let us rather look, my lords, to the reality, which, as I understand, is often made worse than it need be by the terms which we employ.

We do not wish that this should seem to be a war? What, then, is the authority which we are giving to the colonies and borough towns to shut out Antonius from their walls? or to enrol themselves without compulsion or penalty, of their own free will and patriotism? or to promise money for the service of the state? For if the name of war be not adopted, the zeal of the borough towns will be quenched; if we are indifferent, the unanimous enthusiasm of the Roman people, which is at present taking up the matter, must of necessity be weakened. But what need of more? Decimus Brutus is blockaded. Is it not war? Mutina is besieged. Is this, too, still not war? Gaul is being laid waste. What further assurance can you have of peace? Who indeed could call it war? We sent a consul of the greatest bravery, who, though weak from long continuance of a serious disease, yet thought that he was bound to put in no excuse when he was summoned to defend the commonwealth. Gaius Cæsar,

indeed, did not wait for your decree, as a young man of his age might well have done. He took upon him war with Antonius of his own accord, for the time for passing a decree was not yet come; but had he let the season for waging war pass by, he saw that the oppression of the state would render all decrees impossible. Therefore they and their armies are at present wrapt in peace. He is not an enemy whose garrison Hirtius has driven out of Claterna; he is not an enemy who is in armed resistance to the consul, and is besieging the consul for next year; nor have those words any reference to an enemy or war, which Pansa read out just now from the letter of his colleague: 'I have driven out the garrison; I am in possession of Claterna; the cavalry are put to flight; an engagement has taken place; some few men were slain.' Where could there be profounder peace? Levies have been ordered throughout Italy, and all exemptions are suspended. To-morrow we shall wear the garb of war; the consul has said that he will come to the Forum with a body-guard? Is this not war? Is it not a greater war than we have ever had before? For in all other wars, especially in civil wars, the contest has arisen out of some question affecting the state. Sulla joined issue with Sulpicius on the question of how far the laws which Sulla, as consul, declared to have been passed by force were constitutional. Cinna made war against Octavius about the votes of the new citizens; and again Sulla was at war with Marius and Carbo, to prevent the tyranny of unworthy men, and to punish the cruel massacre of most distinguished citizens. All these wars had their origin in party strife. Of the most recent civil war I do not like to speak. I do not know its cause—its issue I deprecate most earnestly.

This is now the fifth civil war, all of them within our lifetime; and for the first time it takes place, not amid dissensions and quarrels among the citizens, but when all are most unanimous and marvellously agreed together. All have the same feelings and the same wishes—all defend the same cause. When I say 'all,'

I except those whom none think worthy of the name of citizen. What, then, is the cause of war between us? We are defending the temples of the immortal gods, with the walls, the homes, the dwelling-places of the Roman people, and the altars, hearths, and tombs of our forefathers: we are defending our laws, our tribunals, our liberty, our wives and children, our fatherland. On the other side Marcus Antonius is plotting and fighting in order to upset and overthrow all this, that, looking on the plunder of the state as the cause of war, he may partly squander our fortunes, partly distribute them among his train of murderers.

In the midst of a war that contradicts all precedents, the most wretched thing is that, in the first place, he promises to his ruffians our homes; for he declares that he will portion out the city, and then he says that he will lead them forth in any direction to seize what lands they will. All the Cafos, all the Saxas, all the other plagues that are in the train of Antonius, mark out for themselves the fairest houses and villas and estates at Tusculum and Albā. And even boorish men, if men they should be called, and not brute beasts, are led by empty hopes as far as Baiæ and Puteoli. Antonius, therefore, has something to offer to his followers—what have we? Have we anything of the kind? Heaven forbend! for our whole object is to prevent anyone henceforth from making any promise of the sort. I speak unwillingly, but speak I must. The auctions of Cæsar, my lords, inspire many reprobates with the most audacious hopes. For they have seen beggars of a sudden rise to wealth; and therefore those who are threatening our fortunes, to whom Antonius promises everything, are anxious to see an auction every day. What is our policy? What do we promise to our armies? A far better and more substantial recompense. For to promise what is wicked is ruinous both to those who promise and to those who look for it. We promise our soldiers liberty, laws, rights, justice, the empire of the world, honour, peace and quietude. The promises, therefore, of Antonius are accursed, stained with blood

and crime, hateful in the eyes of gods and men, neither lasting nor beneficial. Ours, on the contrary, are honourable, upright, glorious, full of joy and loyalty.

At this point Quintius Fufius too, my brave and energetic friend, enlarges on the benefits of peace. Just as though, if a panegyric upon peace were needed, I could not pronounce it just as well as he. Is it once that I have been the advocate of peace? Have I not always set myself to secure tranquillity? which, useful as it is to all good men, is useful most of all to me. For what career could my labours have pursued without trials in the Forum, without laws, without the courts of justice, which cannot possibly exist when peace is at an end? But I ask you, Calenus, do you call slavery by the name of peace? Our forefathers, indeed, used to take up arms not only to be free, but for the sake of empire. Do you propose to throw down arms in order to be slaves? What fairer ground is there for war than to shake off the yoke of slavery? in which, even if the master do not prove tyrannical, yet it is lamentable that he might be if he would. I might rather say that other grounds are fair, but that this leaves no alternative. Unless, indeed, you think that this is no concern of yours, as hoping to share the tyranny of Antonius. In this you make a double mistake: first, in preferring your own interests to the common weal; secondly, in thinking that kingly rule can offer anything stable or agreeable. If it proved for your advantage once, it will not be so again. Nay, you used to make complaints of Cæsar, who was at least a man. What will you do when you are the subject of a beast? And you say that you are one who has always wished for peace and the security of all the citizens. An honourable sentiment, but only if you mean such citizens as are good and loyal and useful to the state. But if you seek the safety of those who are citizens in birth, but enemies in disposition, where ever is the difference between you and them. Your father indeed, whose advice I used to seek when he was old and I was young,

4.

a man of austerity and wisdom, used to give the first place among all the citizens to Publius Nasica, who slew Tiberius Gracchus. He used to think that the republic owed its freedom to the virtue and prudence and magnanimity of Nasica. Is it any other teaching that we received from our fathers? Would that citizen then have found no favour in your sight if you had lived in those days, because, as you would say, he did not desire the security of all the citizens. 'Whereas Lucius Opimius the consul made a motion on a matter relating to the state, the senate passes a decree, that Lucius Opimius should defend the state.' Thus the senate in words, Opimius by force of arms. Had this occurred within your time, should you then have thought Opimius a rash or cruel citizen? or Quintus Metellus, whose four sons obtained the consulship? or Publius Lentulus, the leader of the senate, or many other men of the highest distinction, who took up arms and joined the consul Opimius in pursuing Gracchus to the Aventine? in which battle Lentulus received a serious wound, and Gracchus, and Marcus Fulvius the consular with his two young sons, were killed. These men, therefore, should be censured, for they did not desire the security of all the citizens.

5. Let us come nearer to our own times. The senate entrusted the defence of the republic to the consuls Gaius Marius and Lucius Valerius; Lucius Saturninus, tribune of the commons, and the prætor Gaius Glaucia, were slain. On that day all the Scauri, Metelli, Claudii, Catuli, Scævolæ and Crassi took up arms. Do you consider that either the consuls or those distinguished men were to be blamed? I desired the destruction of Catiline. Do you, who desire the security of all, think that Catiline should have been spared? There is this difference, Calenus, between your view and mine: I wish that no citizen would commit a crime requiring the punishment of death; you think that if he has committed such a crime, his life should still be spared. If there is anything in our bodies injurious to the other parts, we allow it to be burnt or cut out, that one

member, should perish rather than the whole body ; and so in the body of the state I would have any cankered limb cut off, that the whole body may be saved. A cruel sentiment you will say ! But this is much more cruel : let the reprobates, the accursed, the disloyal be saved ; let the innocent, the honourable, the good, the whole republic be destroyed. And yet in the case of one man, Quintus Fufius, I confess that you were the more clear-sighted of the two. I thought Publius Clodius a mischievous, accursed, profligate, disloyal, audacious evildoer ; you looked on him as a saintly, temperate, harmless, moderate citizen, whom all might gladly seek to keep in their society. In the case of this one man I confess that you had the clearer sight, and that I was greatly wrong. As to your saying that I was often angry in my arguments with you, it is not really the case. That I was urgent I confess, but never angry. In fact, I do not readily get angry with my friends, even when they deserve it. And so I can differ from you without giving way to insulting language, but not without the greatest grief. For is my difference with you either slight in itself or resting on a slight foundation ? Is it a mere question of my supporting one man, you the other ? Yes, truly, I am the supporter of Decimus Brutus, you of Marcus Antonius. I desire a colony of the Roman people to be saved, you are labouring for its destruction.

Can you deny the charge, when you are interposing every kind of delay by which Brutus may be weakened, Antonius' position strengthened ? How long will you declare that you desire peace ? The war has commenced, the opposing forces are already in close contact, the battle rages fiercely. We have sent three leading men in the state to throw themselves between the contending parties. These Antonius has refused, contemptuously refused, to acknowledge or receive ; yet you remain the persistent advocate of Antonius. And indeed, that he may seem the better senator, he says that he is under no obligation to be his friend ; that Antonius, though deeply indebted to him, had taken

part against him. See how intensely he loves his country; though angry with him as a man, yet in the interests of the state he defends the interests of Antonius!

I cannot listen with any equanimity, Quintus Fufius, to your bitter tirades against the people of Massilia. How long will you attack Massilia? Does not even a triumph put an end to war? And in a triumph that city was borne in effigy, which has ever heretofore accompanied our ancestors in their triumphs over the Transalpine tribes. On that occasion the Roman people groaned. Although all had private sorrows for their own misfortunes, yet was there not a single citizen who thought the misfortunes of this most loyal city no concern of his. Cæsar himself, who had been the most enraged with them, yet daily relaxed somewhat of his displeasure in his admiration for the marvellous strength of character and loyalty of their city. Is there no degree of suffering by which so faithful a state can satisfy your animosity? You will say, perhaps, that I am angry with you once again. But all my words are free from anger, though not indeed from grief of mind. I think that no one is an enemy to Massilia who is a friend to Rome. I cannot conceive, Calenus, the meaning of your policy. Formerly we could not by our threats induce you to give up the party of the people; now we cannot win you by our prayers to join the people's cause. I have dealt sufficiently with Fufius, without rancour throughout, but nowhere without pain. And I cannot think that when he has borne so patiently a son-in-law's complaint, he will quarrel with the remonstrance of a friend.

7. I come now to the other consulars, of whom there is not one, as I may fairly say, that has not some grounds for feeling gratitude towards me. In some cases these are very substantial, in others comparatively slight; in none are they altogether wanting. With what disgrace did yesterday dawn upon us consulars! Another embassy? Why, what would happen if he should

consent to a truce? In the presence of the envoys and before their very eyes he battered Mutina with his artillery; he showed them his works and entrenchments. There was not a moment's breathing space given to the siege while they were there. An embassy to him? With what intent? In order that your panic may be greater on its return? When I refused to vote for the embassy before, I consoled myself with the thought that when the ambassadors returned rejected with scorn by Antonius; when they reported to the senate that he had not only not left Gaul, in accordance with the terms of our decree, but had not even raised the siege of Mutina, whilst they had not been able to reach Decimus Brutus, the result would be that all of us, inflamed with hatred and aroused by grief, would hasten to the aid of Decimus Brutus with all the forces at our command. As a matter of fact, we became even more devoid of energy so soon as we found in Marcus Antonius not only boldness and wickedness, but insolence and arrogance as well. Would that Lucius Cæsar were in health, that Servius Sulpicius were alive! This cause would be much better pleaded by the three of us than it is now by me alone. I speak in sorrow rather than in reproach. But we are deserted, my lords, yes, deserted by our leaders. But, as I have often said before, at a moment of such peril all will be consulars who remain loyal and constant in their opinions. The envoys should have brought encouragement to us; they have brought panic, though not indeed to me, however favourably they think of him to whom they were sent, and from whom they have received commands.

In Heaven's name, where is the usage and the courage of our ancestors? In their time, when Gaius Popilius was sent on an embassy to Antiochus, and ordered him in the senate's words to raise the siege of Alexandria, Antiochus went on wasting time, till Popilius drew a circle round him with a stick where he stood, and said that he would report progress to the senate, unless the king gave answer what he meant to

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do before he left the circle. 'Twas nobly done; for he had brought with him as representative of the senate the authority of the Roman people; and if a man is disobedient to it, so far from receiving his commands, we ought to reject him altogether. Should I receive directions from one who despised the directions of the senate? Should I hold that he had anything in common with the senate, who, in spite of that senate's prohibition, was besieging the general of the Roman people? And what directions they were which he gave! What arrogance, what infatuation, what insolence they displayed! And why did he give them to our envoys at all when he was sending Cotyla to us, the ornament and bulwark of his friends, a man who had been ædile? if indeed he could be ædile at a time when by order of Antonius he was whipped at a banquet by the public slaves. But what modest directions! We must be made of iron, my lords, to refuse anything to such a man. 'I give up both my provinces,' says he; 'I disband my army; I am willing to give up official rank.' These are his actual words. He seems to be returning to his senses. 'I forget everything; I seek a general reconciliation.' But what does he add? 'If you will endow my six legions, my cavalry, my body-guard with booty and lands.' He even demands rewards for men for whom it would be consummate impudence to demand an amnesty. He adds besides: 'That the land which he and Dolabella have distributed shall be retained by those who have received it.' This is the land in Campania and at Leontini, the two places which our ancestors looked on as our special reserve of corn.

9. He guards the interests of *mimic* actors and gamblers and pimps; he looks out for Cafo and Saxa, whom he has placed among his herds of *mimic* actors and actresses as brawny and pugnacious officers. He demands, besides, that 'the decrees passed by himself and Cæsar, or found in the notebooks of the latter, shall be ratified.' Why is he so

anxious to secure the titles of the buyers, so long as he, the seller, is in safe possession of the purchase-money? And 'that the accounts in the temple of Ops shall not be touched'—i.e. that the 6,000,000*l.* shall not be taken back. 'That the septemviri shall not be punished for their acts.' Nucula, I suppose, suggested this; he feared perhaps that he might lose his numerous following. He also desires an indemnity for those who are with him, 'whatever they have done against the laws.' It is Tiro and Mustela he is thinking of; he has no anxiety about himself. For what has he ever done? Did he ever touch the public money, or commit a murder, or surround himself with a body-guard? But why should he be anxious about them? For he demands that his 'law about the constitution of the courts of justice shall not be annulled.' If this is granted, what has he to fear? Is he afraid that any of his followers will be condemned by Cydas, or Lysias, or Curius? However, he does not press us with a further series of demands; he comes to some concessions. 'I give up,' he says, 'Cisalpine Gaul; I claim to have the Further Gaul'—that is to say, he wants to be free from interference—'with six legions,' he continues, 'and those made up to their full strength from the army of Decimus Brutus' (not only from his own recruiting), 'and that I shall hold the province so long as Marcus Brutus and Gaius Cassius shall hold provinces as consuls or pro-consuls.' By his mode of election his brother Gaius, who would be a candidate for the consulship in the same year, has already been defeated. 'And that I myself,' he says, 'shall hold my province for five years.' But that is forbidden by the law of Cæsar, and you maintain his acts.

Can you, Lucius Piso, and you, Lucius Philippus, being leaders in the state, submit to hear such things, I do not say to reconcile your minds to them? But I suspect there was a kind of panic; nor did you behave

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with him like envoys or like consulars, nor could you maintain your own position or the honour of the state. And yet in some way or another, with a kind of discretion, I suppose, you did what I could not have done, and returned home without yielding too much to your passion. Marcus Antonius made no concession to you, though men of high distinction and envoys of the Roman people. What concessions have we refused to make to Cotyla, the envoy of Marcus Antonius? The gates of this city should by rights have been closed against him, yet we opened this temple to him, we gave him entrance to the senate. He was able yesterday to take down in his notebook all your votes and everything you said: men who had filled the highest offices in the state tried to recommend themselves to him, in total disregard of what was due to their honour. O heavens! what an arduous task it is to maintain the character of a leading person in the state! who ought to be regulated in his actions not only by the feelings but by the looks of his fellow-citizens. To receive the envoy of an enemy at one's house, to admit him to one's private room, even to take him aside for private conversation, marks a man who thinks nothing of honour, too much of personal danger. And what is the danger? Suppose the final crisis to be reached, there is either liberty ready for the conqueror or death for the vanquished; of which alternatives the one is desirable, the other cannot be escaped. But disgraceful shrinking from death is worse than any death. For I cannot be brought to believe that there are men found to envy a neighbour's steadfastness or diligence, or to be annoyed at finding that his constant zeal in aiding the republic meets with the approbation of the senate and the Roman people. This zeal is what we all are bound to show; and the highest praise for consulars, not only with our forefathers, but in recent times, was that they showed watchfulness and presence of mind, and were always either thinking or doing or saying something to benefit the state. I, my lords, can remember that in the Marsic war the augur Quintus

Scaevola, already far advanced in years and broken in constitution, used every day by sunrise to give every one that wished for it an audience; and no one during that war ever saw him in his bed, and, in spite of his age and his feebleness, he used to be the first to make his appearance in the senate house. My first wish would be that those who ought would imitate his diligence; but, failing this, that they would not be offended at the industry of their neighbour.

In fact, my lords, now that we have entered on the hope of liberty after an interval of six years, and have endured slavery longer than is generally required from our captives taken in war if they are good and diligent, are there any vigils, any anxieties, any exertions we should shrink from in order to give freedom to the Roman people? For my part, my lords, though men of my position are commonly in plain attire when the state assumes the garb of war, yet I determined that at such a crisis of the state, amid such confusion and enormities, I would not be distinguished by my dress from you and my other fellow-citizens. Indeed, we consulars are not displaying such demeanour in the present war, that the Roman people would be likely to look with satisfaction on the insignia of our position, seeing that some of us are so cowardly as to have thrown aside all recollection of the favours bestowed upon them by the Roman people. Others are so alienated from the state, that they boast of being friendly to the enemy, and, being well content that Antonius should lavish scorn and ridicule on our envoys, are anxious that all difficulties should be removed from the path of the messenger whom he has sent to us. For they said that he ought not to be prevented from returning to Antonius, amending my motion by proposing to receive him. With this I will comply. Let Varius return to his general, but on condition that he is never seen in Rome again. To the rest, if they will lay aside their errors and return to their allegiance, I think that pardon and amnesty should be granted.

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On this account I propose the following motion:
'If any of those who are with Marcus Antonius will lay down their arms, and join either Gaius Pansa or Aulus Hirtius the consuls, or Decimus Brutus, imperator, consul-elect, or Gaius Cæsar the pro-prætor, before the Ides of March next, it shall not be counted against them that they have been with Marcus Antonius. If any one of those who are with Marcus Antonius shall do any deed which seems to be worthy of honour or reward, that Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, one or both of them, if they so please, shall make a proposal to the senate about such honour or reward on the first convenient day. If any one after this decree should set out to join Marcus Antonius, with the exception of Lucius Varius, the senate will consider that he has acted as a traitor to the commonwealth.

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE NINTH ORATION.



SERVIUS SULPICIUS, one of the envoys to Antonius, died during his mission; and on the news reaching Rome, Gaius Pansa, one of the consuls, proposed that a gilt statue should be erected in his honour on the rostra, and that he should be honoured with a public funeral. In support of this proposal, Cicero delivered the ninth oration, which is a vigorous specimen of simple and natural eloquence, showing strong appreciation of the public services of Sulpicius, together with genuine grief for the loss of a valued friend.

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THE NINTH ORATION.

I COULD wish, my lords, that it had been Heaven's will that we should be voting thanks to Servius Sulpicius in life rather than seeking how to honour him in death. Nor indeed can I doubt that, if it had been granted him to report the issue of his embassy, his return would have been satisfactory to you and beneficial to the state: not that Lucius Philippus and Lucius Piso have shown want of zeal or care in performing duties so arduous and services so important, but as Servius Sulpicius was older than his colleagues and wiser than any other man, his sudden removal from the commission left the whole embassy desolate and enfeebled. But if ever honours paid to any envoy in his death were merited, Servius Sulpicius will be found pre-eminently deserving of them. All others who have lied upon an embassy have gone forth to meet the ordinary risks of life with no especial ground for apprehending death. Servius Sulpicius set out with some little hope of reaching Marcus Antonius, but with none of seeing Rome again. And yet, although in such a state of health as to feel his danger imminent, had exertion been required of his failing powers, he would never have refused to try, even with his last gasp, to be of service to the state. He would not, therefore, be kept back by the inclemency of the winter, or by the snow, or by the length of the journey, or the roughness of the roads, or even by the increasing severity of his illness; and, having got so far as to obtain an interview and conference with the man to whom he had been

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sent, he passed away amid the anxious care and thought involved in carrying out his mission.

To your other noble actions therefore, Gaius Pansa, this may now be added, that you have exhorted us to honour Servius Sulpicius, and have yourself spoken eloquently in his praise. And after your oration I would give a silent vote, did I not think an answer due to so illustrious a man as Publius Servilius, who has declared his opinion that this honour of a statue should only be awarded to a man who has fallen by a violent death upon his embassy. But I, my lords, interpret the feelings of our forefathers in such a sense, as to believe that they considered the point to be the cause of death, and not its outward form. For they desired that a monument should be raised to the man whose death had arisen from his being an ambassador, in order that in dangerous wars men might be more bold in undertaking such a mission. We have not, therefore, to examine the precedents of our forefathers, but to explain their grounds of action, from which those precedents came themselves into existence.

2. Lars Tolumnius, king of Veii, slew four envoys of the Roman people at Fidenæ, whose statues stood within my memory on the rostra. The honour was appropriate; for our ancestors gave the men who had died for their country undying fame to atone for the shortening of their lives. We see on the rostra the statue of Gnæus Octavius, a great and noble man, the first to attain the consulship in a family which afterwards abounded in men of eminence. No one then took exception at his want of noble birth; no one failed to do honour to his valour. But the embassy of Octavius was attended by no suspicion of danger. For having been sent by the senate to ascertain the feelings of the kings and the independent nations, and, in particular, to prevent the grandson of the king Antiochus, who had waged war with our ancestors, from supporting a fleet and keeping elephants, he was slain in the gymnasium at Laodicea by a man named Leptines. Our ancestors granted a statue in memory of his death,

and this, which was destined to confer honour for many generations on his family, is now the sole memorial of his noble house. But both in his case and in that of Tullus Cluvius, Lucius Roscius, Spurius Antius, and Gaius Fulcinius, the envoys slain by the king of Veii, it was not the blood which was shed at their death, but the very fact of dying for the state, that was the ground of the distinction.

And so, my lords, if Servius Sulpicius had died through any accident, I should grieve indeed for the loss to the state; but I should consider that his death called not for a monument, but for public demonstrations of mourning. As it is, who can doubt that the embassy has been the direct cause of his death? For he carried out with him a fatal malady, which might have been checked had he remained at home, by care on his own part, and by the attention of the most faithful of wives and most excellent of sons. But seeing that if he refused compliance with your instructions he would belie his own character, and that if he obeyed you the service which he undertook for the common weal would be fatal to his life, he chose rather to die at a most urgent crisis of the republic than to seem to have done less than his uttermost for that republic. In many cities on the road he had the opportunity of taking rest and caring for his health. The dignity of his position procured him liberal offers of hospitality, and his colleagues earnestly exhorted him to take repose and not neglect his health. But he, hastening onwards at full speed in his desire to carry out your instructions, persevered in his resolution notwithstanding his disease. At his arrival Antonius was very much disturbed, because the injunctions which were laid upon him by your command had been drawn up under the sanction and on the proposal of Servius Sulpicius; and accordingly he showed his hatred for the senate by the insolent triumph with which he received the news that its representative was dead. It was not more true, therefore, that Leptines killed Octavius, or the king of Veii the ambassadors of whom I spoke just now, than that

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Antonius killed Servius Sulpicius. For surely his death was brought about by him who was its cause. And so I think that our posterity are entitled to a record of the senate's judgment of this war. For the statue will testify of itself that the war was of such magnitude, that the death of an envoy called for the honour of a public memorial.

4. But if you call to mind, my lords, the plea that Sulpicius urged for declining the commission, you will no longer doubt that we are bound to repair the injury which we did him when alive by conferring distinction on him in his death. For you, my lords—it is with pain I say it, but it must be said—you, I repeat it, deprived Sulpicius of life; for when you saw him enforcing the plea of illness by his looks more than by his words, I do not say that you were cruel. No charge could be less applicable to the members of this House; but in the hopes that there was nothing which his influence and wisdom could not carry out, you combatted his plea with injudicious earnestness, and induced him, in accordance with his invariable respect for your decisions, to give up his resolution. And when there was added the appeal of the consul Pansa, couched in more urgent terms than Servius Sulpicius had learned to hear unmoved, he at last took me aside with his son, and used language which implied that he set your authority before his life. In our admiration of his patriotism we did not venture to combat his decision. His son, a man of singular affection for his father, was deeply moved. My own grief was not far short of his emotion; but both of us were forced to yield to the grandeur of his purpose and the dignity of his language, when amid the warmest praises and congratulations from you all he promised that he would do what you desired, and would not shrink from the danger involved in the proposal which he himself had made; and on the very next day we set him on his way as he hastened to fulfil your commands. And as he went away he spoke to me in words which seemed to shadow forth his fate.

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Restore then, my lords, the life which you have taken away, for the life of the dead consists in the memory of the living. Provide that he whom you unwittingly despatched to death may obtain immortality at your hands. No forgetfulness of posterity will ever consign his memory to oblivion when you by your decree have placed his statue on the rostra. For the history of Servius Sulpicius in the future will be kept alive in the memory of all succeeding generations by many noble monuments. His dignity, his steadfastness, his loyalty, his surpassing diligence and wisdom in guarding the interests of the state will never cease to be celebrated in the annals of the world. Nor, indeed, will men pass over in silence his marvellous, incredible, and almost superhuman knowledge in interpreting the letter and explaining the spirit of the law. If all the men who at any period have been learned in the law within this city were brought together into one place, they could not be compared with Servius Sulpicius. Nor was he better versed in law than equity. And therefore arguments which started from the letter of our statutes and the common law were invariably referred by him to the standard of tolerance and equity; nor did he like to start a lawsuit better than to settle a dispute. Therefore he needs not this memorial of a statue; he has others that are greater. For this statue will testify to his honourable death; the others will be the memory of a glorious life, so that this monument will rather bear witness to the gratitude of the senate than to the greatness of the man. The filial affection of his son, moreover, will seem to have great weight in making us pay honour to the father; for although his crushing grief prevents his being here, your feelings ought to be the same as though he were. For his emotion is such that no one has ever felt more grief for the loss of an only son than he shows for the death of his father. And, indeed, I think it concerns the honour of the son as well, that he should be seen to have paid due honour to his father. But certainly the father could have left no more noble monument behind him than the re-

flection of his own character, his patriotism, his constancy, his affection, his talent in his son, whose grief, if any consolation can affect it, will be assuaged by this honour at your hands.

6. And when I remember the many conversations which I have had with Servius Sulpicius in the course of our friendship, it seems to me that he will be better pleased, if there is any consciousness in death, with a bronze statue on foot than with a gilded equestrian effigy, such as was first set up in honour of Lucius Sulla. For Servius had a wonderful affection for the moderation of our forefathers, and was always finding fault with the extravagance of the present day. And so, as though I were consulting him about his wishes, I propose a bronze statue on foot, acting as it were with his authority and in accordance with his wish. And I think that this proposal, my lords, is necessarily covered and sanctioned by that of Publius Servilius, who has moved that a public funeral be decreed in honour of Servius Sulpicius, but not a statue. For if the death of an envoy requires no honours, unless it has been attended by bloodshed and violence, why does he propose the honour of a public funeral, the greatest that a dead man can receive? But if he pays to Servius Sulpicius the tribute which was not paid to Gnæus Octavius, why does he not propose to grant the former that which Octavius did receive? Our ancestors, indeed, decreed statues in honour of many men, public funerals to very few. But statues decay with weather, or violence, or simple age; whereas the sanctity of a burying-place is in the ground itself, which cannot be removed or destroyed by any degree of violence; and whilst everything else is reduced to dust by lapse of time, a sepulchre is only rendered holier by age. I would therefore have Sulpicius, to whom no honour can be paid beyond his merits, receive the tribute which has been proposed to you; let us show our gratitude in doing him honour, since we have no other means of showing it. And I would have the accursed audacity of Marcus Antonius, who is waging an iniquitous war,

receive herein as well its brand of infamy. For if we pay these honours to Servius Sulpicius, it will be placed on record, never to be effaced, that the embassy was repudiated and turned away by Antonius.

And on this account I make the following motion :
Whereas Servius Sulpicius Rufus, the son of Quintus, of the Lemonian tribe, at a most critical moment for the state, and while suffering under a painful and dangerous disease, has preferred the safety of the state to his own life, and has struggled against the severity of the disease, in order that he might reach the camp of Marcus Antonius, to which the senate had despatched him ; and whereas, when within a very short distance of the camp he has lost his life through the virulence of the attack, at a most critical moment for the state ; and whereas his death has been in strict accordance with the honourable and holy tenour of his life, in which Servius Sulpicius has often done great service to the state, both as a private man and as a magistrate : seeing that such a man as this has died on an embassy in the service of the state, it is the pleasure of the senate that a statue of bronze, on foot, should be placed on the rostra in honour of Servius Sulpicius, in accordance with the vote of this House ; and that five feet round the statue on all sides be reserved as standing-room for his children and posterity at the games and gladiatorial shows, because he has died in the service of the state, and that the reason hereof shall be inscribed upon the pedestal ; and that the consuls Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, one or both of them, if they think fit, shall desire the quæstors of the city to let out a contract for the erection of that pedestal and statue upon the rostra, and to see that the amount agreed upon in the contract be handed over and paid to the contractor. And whereas on former occasions the senate has shown its authority by the magnificence of the funerals of brave men, it is the pleasure of the senate that Servius Sulpicius on the day of his funeral shall be carried out to burial with every possible solemnity ; and whereas Servius Sulpicius Rufus, the son of Quintus, of the

Lemonian tribe, has deserved so well of the republic that he ought to receive these distinctions, it is the pleasure of the senate, as being for the advantage of the state, that the curule ædiles should relax in favour of Servius Sulpicius Rufus, the son of Quintus, of the Lemonian tribe, the byelaw which they have on the subject of funerals; and that Gaius Pansa the consul shall assign for his place of burial a plot of ground, thirty feet square, in the Campus Esquilinus, or wherever else he may think fit, to be the burying-place for himself, his children, and his posterity, on the firmest title that can be given by authority of the state for a place of burial.

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE TENTH ORATION.

TOWARDS the end of November, 44 B.C., Gaius Antonius set out to take possession of the province of Macedonia, which had been assigned to him in the place of his brother Marcus. This assignment was annulled on December 20, and grounds were thereby furnished to Marcus Brutus, to whom the province had been originally allotted, for resisting the occupation of Gaius Antonius. Having been recognised as governor by the regular troops of the province, he drove Antonius into Apollonia, and besieged him there.

When the news of these proceedings was brought to Rome, there was a keen debate upon the situation, probably early in March, 43 B.C. Quintus Fufius Calenus proposed that Brutus should be removed from his command, partly as a usurper, partly for fear of offending Cæsar's veterans. In answer to this Cicero delivered his tenth oration, in which he urges that Brutus, even if technically wrong, was serving the best interests of the state; that the veterans were too loyal to take offence; and that, even were it otherwise, the interests of the state must not be sacrificed to the prejudices of the soldiery.

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THE TENTH ORATION.

WE ought all of us, Pansa, to express and feel the deepest gratitude to you, seeing that though we did not expect that you would convene the senate to-day, yet on receiving the despatch of that distinguished citizen, Marcus Brutus, you allowed no time to be lost before putting us in possession of the great joy which our mutual congratulations express. Your action ought to win the thanks of all of us, but even more the speech which you made on reading the despatch. For you declared it to be true, as I have always felt, that no one envies another man's excellence who is certain of his own. And so I, who have always been connected most intimately with Brutus by the interchange of many obligations, have the less to say about him, since the part which I had proposed for myself has been anticipated in your speech. But I am forced, my lords, to say a little more than I need otherwise have done, by the motion of the senator who gave his vote before me, from whom I so often differ, that by this time I fear that our constant disagreement may most unnecessarily lessen our friendship for each other.

For what is your meaning, what is your intention, Calenus, in never once during this present year agreeing with the magistrate who asked you for your vote before the other senators? So that, however full the senate has been, no single senator has ever supported you. Why do you always defend men with whom you have no point in common? Why, when your life and fortune invite you to a course of ease and dignity, are your

sanction and your support and sympathy always given to measures which are opposed alike to public tranquillity and personal honour?

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For to say nothing of what has gone before, I cannot pass over this, which arouses my astonishment more than anything. Why are you at war with the Bruti? Why do you, and you alone, attack men revered by almost all of us? Why does it not trouble you that one of them is blockaded in Mutina? Why do you seek by your motion to deprive the other of the forces which by his own exertions and at his own risk he has organised single-handed for the defence of the state, not for himself? What are the feelings and considerations which lead you to discountenance the Bruti and support the Antonii?—to hate those whom other men most love?—to show the most unvarying affection for those whom other men detest most bitterly? You enjoy a noble fortune, you hold the highest position in the state, you have a son, as I hear and hope, who is born for distinction, whose interests I have at heart for the sake of the republic as well as for your own. I would ask, therefore, would you prefer to have him like a Brutus or an Antonius? and I will choose which you please out of the three Antonii. Heaven forbid! you say. Why, then, do you not support and praise those whom you would wish your son to resemble? For by so doing you will at once consult the interests of your country, and set before your son a model for his imitation.

But there is one point, Quintus Fufius, about which I hope I may remonstrate with you, as one senator with another from whom he differs, without prejudice to our friendship. You said, reading a written copy of your speech—for otherwise I should suppose that you had used a wrong word for want of a suitable expression—you said that the despatch of Brutus was in good writing and very decent style. Surely this is praise bestowed on Brutus' secretary, not upon himself. By this time, Calenus, you ought to have—there is nothing to prevent your having—great experience in

state affairs. When did you ever see a decree of this sort passed? Or by what decree of this House on any such occasion—and the cases are innumerable—has it ever been resolved by the senate that a despatch was well written? But the expression did not fall from you, as often happens, inadvertently. You had brought it with you written down, the result of deliberate, carefully considered thought.

If only some one could cure you of this habit of disparaging the good on every possible occasion, all your remaining qualities would be such as anyone would gladly welcome in himself. Wherefore recover yourself, be more placable and genial; listen to the many good men among your associates; hold converse with that most discreet of men, your son-in-law, more frequently than with yourself, and then you will at length make good your claim to a title of such distinguished rank. Does it not at all concern you, as it often grieves me on your behalf when I consider our friendship, that it should be noised abroad and come to the ears of the Roman people, that no single senator supported the man who delivered his opinion first? And this I think will be the case again to-day.

You desire to withdraw the legions from Brutus. But what legions? Those, I suppose, which he rescued from complicity in the treason of Gaius Antonius, and transferred on his own responsibility to the state? You wish, then, that he would once more appear as an exile from his country, stripped of his forces, and left alone. But if you, my lords, desert and betray Marcus Brutus, on what citizen can you hereafter possibly confer distinction? Unless, indeed, you think that those should be supported who have made the offer of a royal crown, and those deserted who have abolished the very name of kingly rule. And I will say nothing here of this superhuman and immortal exploit of Brutus, which is enshrined in the grateful memories of all the citizens, but has not yet been acknowledged by any public authority. Good heavens! did you ever see such patience, such moderation, such calmness and resigna-

tion in the midst of wrong? Though he was prætor of the city, he submitted to be driven from it; though he had restored the administration of justice to the state, he did not preside at her tribunals; though he might have been encircled day by day with a crowd of all the loyal citizens, who thronged around him to a marvellous extent, he thought it better to be defended by the judgment of patriots in his absence than by their forces in his presence. He did not even celebrate in person the games in honour of Apollo, which had been organised with a splendour worthy of his position and the majesty of the Roman people, lest an opening should be given for the recklessness of the most consummate scoundrels.

4. And yet what games, what days of festival were ever fuller of rejoicing than when the Roman people took advantage of individual verses to do homage to the memory of Brutus with shouts of loud applause! The person of their saviour was away, but the memory of liberty was there; and in this it seemed that the image of Brutus could be seen. But I saw the man himself during these very days of the games in the island of that noble youth Lucullus, his near neighbour, thinking of nothing but peace and harmony among the citizens. I saw him afterwards at Velia, on the point of leaving Italy, in order that no pretext might arise for civil war on his account. That was a sight full of misery not only for men, but for the very waves and shores, when the saviour of his country was obliged to leave it, and its destroyers could remain in it. The fleet of Cassius followed in the course of a few days, so that I was ashamed, my lords, to return to a city from which they were going away. But my design in coming back you heard at the beginning of these orations, and afterwards you had actual experience of it. Brutus, therefore, has bided his time. For so long as he saw that you could stomach anything, he personally showed a patience which was truly marvellous; so soon as he felt that you were awakened to a hope of liberty, he made ready to defend your liberty.

But what a flood of wickedness he resisted! For had Gaius Antonius been able to carry out all that he designed, or rather had not the patriotism of Marcus Brutus interfered with his wickedness, we should have lost Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece. Greece itself would either have been a refuge for Antonius when beaten, or a basis of operations for his attacks on Italy. Whereas now, being not only prepared to fight, but thoroughly equipped for war by the military genius and authority and resources of Marcus Brutus, she holds out the right hand of fellowship to Italy, and promises to protect her. Wherefore, if anyone deprives Brutus of his army, he deprives the state of a most excellent asylum and the strongest of its fortresses. I indeed am anxious that Antonius should hear of this without any loss of time, that he may understand that it is not Decimus Brutus whom he is enclosing with his entrenchments, but himself that is being besieged.

He has but three cities in the world; Greece is bitterly opposed to him; the Gauls across the Po, in whom he used to trust, are thoroughly estranged from him; all Italy is in arms against him; foreign lands, from the nearest point in Greece as far as Egypt, are occupied by garrisons under the command of the bravest and most loyal citizens. His only hope lay in Gaius Antonius, who, coming between his brothers in point of years, could vie with both of them in vice. He ran off into Macedonia as though he had been driven by the senate, instead of being expressly forbidden to go there. Good heavens! what a storm, what a conflagration, what devastation, what a plague he would have brought on Greece, had not an incredible and almost superhuman valour crushed the reckless enterprise of the madman! What promptitude, what diligence, what valour Brutus showed! And yet in rapidity of movement even Gaius Antonius was not to be despised; and had he not stopped to take possession of some lapsed inheritances on the way, you might have said that he rather flew than made a march. We commonly find a difficulty in driving other men to their work when we

5.

wish them to undertake any public business. This man we drove away by trying to detain him. But what had he to do with Apollonia? or Dyrrachium? or Illyricum? or the army of the general Publius Vatinius? He was succeeding Hortensius, as he said himself. But Macedonia has definite boundaries, definite terms upon which it is held, a definite army, when it has any at all; and what had Antonius to do with Illyricum or with the legions of Vatinius? No, nor Brutus either, perhaps some ill-disposed person may say. All the legions, all the forces which are anywhere, are the property of the state; nor should even those legions which quitted Marcus Antonius be said to belong to him, but rather to the state. For all right of military command, all right to an army, is forfeited by the man who uses the army or the command in order to attack the commonwealth.

6. But if the republic could pronounce its own decision, or if the whole question of right could be decided by its decrees, to which would it entrust the legions of the Roman people, to Antonius or to Brutus? The one had suddenly taken flight to plunder and destroy the allies, so that wherever he went he laid waste, ravaged, pillaged everything, and used the army of the Roman people itself against the Roman people. The other had laid down for himself this principle, that wherever he came he would seem to have come as a light bringing hopes of safety amid their darkness. In short, the one sought for a body-guard to overthrow the republic, the other for its preservation. Nor, indeed, was this more evident to us than to the soldiers themselves, who could hardly have been expected to exhibit such discernment. He writes that Antonius was at Apollonia with seven legions, and was either already a prisoner—as I pray may be the case—or at any rate had the modesty not to enter Macedonia, for fear he should seem to act against the decrees of the senate. A levy of troops has been held in Macedonia through the great zeal and diligence of Quintus Hortensius, whose noble spirit, worthy of himself and of his ancestors, was

clearly visible in the despatch of Brutus. The legion under the command of Lucius Piso, the lieutenant of Antonius, was given up by him to my son Cicero. Of the cavalry, which was taken into Syria in two divisions, the one part left the quæstor in command of it in Thessaly, and joined Brutus; the other was withdrawn from the officer who was commanding the detachment on its way to Syria, and brought into Macedonia by Gnæus Domitius, a youth of the greatest valour, strength of character, and resolution. Publius Vatinus again, who fully earned your praises once before, and now again most thoroughly deserves them, opened the gates of Dyrrachium, and handed over his army to Brutus. The republic, therefore, is in possession of Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece; the legions are ours, the light-armed troops are ours, the cavalry is ours—above all, Brutus is and ever will be ours, being destined to serve the state both by the excellence of his own virtues and by a certain prestige of his name and race, both on his father's and his mother's side.

Does anyone then fear war from such a man as this, who, before we were compelled to it, preferred the inglorious inactivity of peace to the advancement gained by war? Not that he was ever inglorious in inactivity, nor can such a term apply to excellence like his. For he was missed by all the state, he was in everyone's mouth, the universal topic of their conversation. But he was so averse to war, that when all Italy was ablaze with the desire of freedom, he has preferred disappointing the ardour of the citizens to involving them in the risks of war. And so the very men—if any such there be—who find fault with the slowness shown by Brutus, yet admire his moderation and forbearance.

But now I see what they say, for indeed there is no disguise about it. They say that they doubt how the veterans will bear to see Brutus at the head of an army. Just as though there were any difference between the command of Aulus Hirtius, or Gaius Pansa, or Decimus Brutus, or Gaius Cæsar, and this command of Marcus Brutus. For if those four armies which I have just

mentioned were praised because they took up arms in defence of the liberty of the Roman people, why should not the army of Marcus Brutus be placed in the same category? You will say that the name of Marcus Brutus is an object of suspicion to the veterans. More than that of Decimus? I cannot think it; for although the deed of the Bruti is common to them both, though they equally share the praise of it, yet those who were sorry for what was done were more angry with Decimus, in proportion as they urged that he had stronger reasons for abstaining from the plot. And what are all these armies seeking at the present moment, except that Decimus Brutus should be released from his blockade? And who are in command of these armies? I presume they are the men who desire Gaius Cæsar's acts to be made void, and the cause of the veterans betrayed.

8.

If Gaius Cæsar were alive himself, he would defend his own acts himself, I suppose, with greater energy than that brave man Aulus Hirtius; or can anyone be found more friendly to his cause than his adopted son? Yet of these the one, not yet recovered from a long-continued and most serious illness, has bestowed what little strength he has in defending the liberty of those to whose prayers he thought he owed the restoration of his life. The other, more matured in strength of virtue than in years, has set out with those very veterans to set Decimus Brutus free. And therefore those who are at once the most undoubted and the keenest supporters of the acts of Cæsar, are waging war for the safety of Decimus Brutus, and are followed by the veterans; for they see that they must fight, not for their own interests, but for the liberty of the Roman people. What reason is there, then, why these men, who desire that all their forces should be used in securing the safety of Decimus Brutus, should look with suspicion on the army of Marcus? Think you that if there seemed to be any cause for anxiety in Marcus Brutus, Pansa would not see it? Or, if he saw it, would not feel distressed? Who is there that is either more

keen-sighted in discerning the future or more careful in warding off its perils? But yet you have seen his feelings towards Marcus Brutus, and his eagerness in serving him. He has given us a lesson in his speech, and taught us what we ought to vote, and what we ought to feel in the case of Marcus Brutus; and, so far from seeing danger to the republic in the army of Brutus, he considered that he had in it the firmest and most important bulwark of the state. It must be that Pansa either does not see it—his intellect is somewhat dull—or else he disregards it; for he does not care that we should ratify what Cæsar did, although at the comitia centuriata he intends to propose a law at our suggestion to confirm and ratify his acts.

No longer, therefore, let either those who have no fears pretend to fear and care for the republic, or those who tremble at every shadow be too timid, lest the hypocrisy of the one party and the cowardice of the other stand in our way. What, in the name of all that is unholy, is the meaning of perpetually bringing up the name of the veterans? Why should they always be an obstacle to every patriotic measure? I may be ready to do justice to their merits; but if they gave themselves airs, I could not tolerate their arrogance. Shall it stop us in our efforts to break the chains of slavery if we are told that the veterans do not wish it? I suppose there are not thousands of our citizens who are ready to take up arms in defence of the common liberty! That there is no one except the veterans who is man enough to be aroused by generous indignation to cast off the yoke of slavery! Can the republic indeed maintain its footing, if it relies upon the veterans alone, without considerable reinforcements from the younger men? You should embrace these veterans as champions of liberty, not follow their guidance into slavery. In short, let me give vent at last to what is true and worthy of myself,—if the counsels of this House are to be swayed by the sovereign will and pleasure of the veterans—if everything we say or do is to be referred to them, my choice would be for death,

9.

which Roman citizens ever have preferred to slavery. All slavery is wretched; but, though some may have been inevitable, I would ask you, have you any thoughts of beginning ever to assert your liberty? When we could not bear the calamity which we might almost say was forced on us by fate, shall we bear a voluntary bondage now? All Italy is fired with a thirst for liberty; the state can no longer bear the yoke of slavery; the Roman people sought this garb, these arms from us, for long before we granted them.

10. It is, indeed, with great and almost certain hope of liberty that we have undertaken our cause; but, granting that the issues of war are uncertain, and that Mars is fickle, yet we must risk our lives in fighting for our liberty: for life does not consist in the mere act of living; it has no existence in the slave. All foreign nations can bear slavery; for our state it is impossible, and that simply because the others shrink from toil and sorrow, and would bear anything to be free from them. But we have been brought up and trained by our ancestors to make honour and virtue the standard of our counsels and our deeds alike. So noble is it to recover liberty, that in regaining it we should not even shrink from death. Nay, if immortality itself should follow on declining present risk, yet immortality itself would seem a boon to be rejected, in proportion as its bondage would be more enduring. But since both night and day all kinds of risks encompass us, it is not like a man, and still less like a Roman, to hesitate about sacrificing to his country that breath which he must one day surrender to nature. Men flock together from all sides to extinguish the common conflagration. Veterans, who were the first to follow Cæsar's lead, repelled the enterprise of Antonius. Afterwards the Martian legion gave a blow to his madness, the fourth crushed it altogether. Being thus condemned by the verdict of his own legions, he burst forth into Gaul, which he knew to be opposed and hostile to him, both in heart and strength. He was followed by the armies of Aulus Hirtius and Gaius Cæsar; afterwards the levy

raised by Pansa aroused the city and the whole of Italy. In his single person he is the enemy of all, though he has indeed with him his brother Lucius, the favourite of the Roman people, whose absence the city can no longer bear with equanimity. What can be fouler or more savage than this beast? who seems to me to have been born simply that there might be one man baser than his brother Marcus. Trebellius is with him, who is now becoming reconciled to the abolition of all debts; Plancus, too, and all the others of the same stamp, whose only aim and object is that their return from exile may seem a curse to the republic. The inexperienced rustics are tampered with by Saxa and Cafo, clowns and boors themselves, who have never seen and never wish to see the republic in its integrity, who are supporting the acts of Antonius, not of Cæsar, led away by unlimited occupation of Campanian land; though I wonder much that they are not ashamed of it, when they see that they have *mimic* actors and actresses for their neighbours.

For stamping out these plagues, why should we take it amiss that the army of Marcus Brutus is added to our resources? He is a man, I suppose, at once extravagant and quarrelsome: the fear is rather that he is too patient; although neither too much nor too little has ever been a term to use of either his counsels or his deeds. Every wish, my lords, and every thought of Marcus Brutus, the whole of his mind is bent on upholding the authority of the senate, the liberty of the Roman people—this is what he has before him, this is what he wishes to maintain. He has tried what could be done by patience; failing this, he has thought that force should now be met by force. To him, my lords, you ought to pay the same tribute to-day that you paid to Decimus Brutus and Gaius Cæsar at my suggestion on December 20, whose private enterprise and action on the state's behalf was confirmed and praised by your authority. This you ought to do again in dealing with the case of Marcus Brutus, who has brought a sudden and un hoped-for reinforcement to the

11.

state, in the large and well-disciplined force of infantry and cavalry and allies which he has got together. And with him we must couple Quintus Hortensius, who, being in possession of Macedonia, was most staunch and faithful in aiding Brutus to collect his troops. About Marcus Apuleius I propose to make a separate motion: Marcus Brutus bears testimony in his despatch that he was the first to urge him to the attempt of raising an army.

This being so, whereas the consul Gaius Pansa has laid before us the despatch which has been received from Quintus Cæpio Brutus, and has been read in this assembly, I propose the following motion on the subject: Whereas Quintus Cæpio Brutus, pro-consul, by his exertions, his counsels, his diligence and his valour at a most critical emergency in the state, has retained the province of Macedonia, and Illyricum, and all Greece, with their several legions, armies, and cavalry, under the power of the consuls and senate and Roman people, this has been done by Quintus Cæpio, pro-consul, nobly and in the interests of the state and in accordance with his own honour and that of his ancestors, and with their habitual custom of good administration in the republic; and it is and will be pleasing to the senate and the Roman people, and it is their pleasure that Quintus Cæpio Brutus, pro-consul, should hold, defend, maintain, and keep in safety the province of Macedonia, with Illyricum and the whole of Greece; and that he should be in command of the army which he has raised and organised himself, and that he should use and levy for the service of the army, so far as may be required, any public money which can be levied; and that for the service of the war he may borrow money and make requisition for coin in any quarter that seems good to him, and that he take care to be with his forces as near Italy as possible. And whereas it is clear from the despatch of Quintus Cæpio Brutus, pro-consul, that Quintus Hortensius, pro-consul, has done good service to the state by his prowess and exertions, and that all his counsels have been in har-

mony with those of Quintus Cæpio Brutus, pro-consul, and that this has been of great advantage to the state; it is decreed that Quintus Hortensius, pro-consul, has acted well and as befits his rank and in the interests of the state; and it is the pleasure of the senate that Quintus Hortensius, pro-consul, should retain possession of his province, with a quæstor or pro-quæstor and his other officers, till a successor be appointed to take his place by a decree of the senate.

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE ELEVENTH ORATION

TOWARDS the end of 44 B.C., Dolabella left Rome to take possession of the province of Syria. On his way through Asia Minor, he was excluded from Smyrna by Gaius Trebonius, and in revenge he entered the city by night, and treacherously murdered Trebonius; accompanying the murder, according to Cicero, with every kind of aggravation.

On this being told at Rome, Dolabella was declared a public enemy by the senate; and at a second meeting, in spite of the opposition of Cicero, expressed in the eleventh oration, it was agreed that the consuls of the present year should take charge of the campaign against him, so soon as they should have defeated Marcus Antonius. Cicero was anxious to entrust the province to Gaius Cassius, who was already there in arms against Dolabella, and who eventually took the matter into his own hands, and having blockaded Dolabella in Laodicea, reduced him to commit suicide.

This speech must have been delivered about the middle of March, 43 B.C., but the exact date is unknown.

THE ELEVENTH ORATION.

1. IN the midst of great grief, my lords, grief which I cannot control, arising from the cruel and lamentable death of Gaius Trebonius, that loyal citizen, and most moderate man, there yet is something which I think will be of service to the state. For we have seen of what enormities the men are capable who have taken up accursed arms against their country. For these two, Antonius and Dolabella, are the two foulest and most savage monsters that have seen the light since the creation of mankind, of whom one has done what he desired, the other has let it be seen what he was thinking of. Lucius Cinna was cruel, Gaius Marius unrelenting in his anger, Lucius Sulla was impetuous; but none of these extended the bitterness of his revenge beyond the death of his victim, though this punishment was thought too cruel to be inflicted upon citizens. Here you have a pair of twins in crime, savage, barbarous, such as no one ever saw or heard of heretofore. And whereas of old you remember the extreme hatred and the bitter war that existed between them, subsequently they were bound together with the greatest mutual love and harmony, in virtue of the similarity of their infamous nature and disgraceful lives. Accordingly, what Dolabella has done in the instance where the power was given him, Antonius threatens to do towards many of his opponents. But Dolabella being far from our consuls and armies, and being unaware as yet that the senate had joined forces with the Roman people, relying on the help of Antonius, committed the crimes which he thought

that the partner of his frenzy must by this time have ventured on at Rome. Wherein, then, do you conceive that the plans and wishes of Antonius are different from his, or what in fact do you suppose is the reason why we are at war? He has made up his mind that all of us who entertain free sentiments, who have spoken in a manner worthy of ourselves, who have desired that the Roman people should be free, are not only unfriendly, but his deadly enemies. He is planning heavier punishments for us than for an enemy; death he considers a penalty imposed by nature, whilst anger calls for torture of every kind. What kind of enemy, then, must he be thought who considers that we should look on death as a boon, if when victorious he abstains from torture.

2.

And so, my lords, although you need not anyone to urge you on, for of your own accord you caught the fire of eagerness to regain your liberty, yet I beg you to maintain your freedom with the greater zeal and resolution in proportion to the pressure of the slavery which you see proposed as punishment for the vanquished. Antonius has seized on Gaul, Dolabella upon Macedonia, each on the province of another man; Brutus has thrown himself in the way of the one, and at the peril of his life has hampered the onset of the madman who is seeking to carry off and pillage everything. He has stopped his progress, he has prevented his return by allowing himself to be besieged, he has hemmed Antonius in on either side. The other has made an inroad into Asia. With what purpose? if to go to Syria, the ordinary way was open to him, and neither indistinctly marked nor long: if to join Trebonius, why take a legion with him? Having sent before him a certain Marsian called Octavius, an infamous and needy ruffian, to ravage the lands and pillage the cities, not with the hope of amassing private property, for those who know him say that this he cannot keep—to me this upstart senator is unknown—but merely to satisfy his want of money, for the moment Dolabella followed in his steps. Without the least idea of war—for who could possibly have thought of such a thing?—there followed most intimate

conversations with Trebonius, not without embraces. The symbols of the highest goodwill proved false where love was only feigned: the right hands pledged in troth, which used to be the witnesses of good faith, were treacherously and infamously set at nought: Smyrna was entered by night, as though it were a town belonging to an enemy, instead of to the oldest and staunchest of your allies. Trebonius was crushed; from want of caution, if his murderer was an open foe; most miserably, if he even then retained the semblance of a citizen. And from him Fortune evidently wished us to take warning of what we had to fear if we were vanquished. A consular, holding the province of Asia, with pro-consular authority, was handed over to an exile, Samiarius by name: he would not have him kill his prisoner at once, for fear, I suppose, of seeming too generous in the hour of victory. Having given this excellent man all the pain he could by the insults of his impure mouth, he tortured him with lash and rack, to make him say where he had hidden the public money. This went on for two days: then, having broken his neck, he cut off his head, and ordered it to be carried about on the point of a spear; his body, after dragging it through the mire and mangling it, he threw into the sea. This is the enemy we have to fight, with whose atrocious cruelty no barbarous nation can compete. Why should I speak of the massacre of Roman citizens? or the plunder of the temples? who is there that can deplore calamities like these in terms equivalent to their atrocity? And now he is wandering over the whole of Asia; he is flitting about like a king; he thinks that we are safely kept away by the pressure of another war: as though it were not one and the same war which we are waging against this infamous pair of rebels.

You see the cruelty of Marcus Antonius reflected in Dolabella: the model is copied from him, the injunctions which led to Dolabella's crime were given by him. Think you that Antonius will be more merciful in Italy, if you leave him the choice, than Dolabella was in Asia?

3.

It seems to me that while the latter has gone as far as the madness of a savage man can go, it is not likely that if Antonius has the power he will leave any kind of punishment untried. Place then before your eyes, my lords, the sight which, wretched and pitiable as it is, is needed to excite our minds: think of the night attack upon the noblest city in Asia, the forcible entry of armed men into the house of Trebonius, when the poor man saw the swords of the ruffians before he heard what it all meant: the entrance of the madman Dolabella, the fetters, the stripes, the rack, the torturer and butcher Samiarius: all of which, they say, Trebonius bore with fortitude and patience. It is a great thing to say of a man, in my opinion there can be no higher praise: for it marks a sage to consider beforehand that every ill which can befall a man should be borne with equanimity, if hereafter it should be his lot. At any rate, while it requires more prudence to guard against an occurrence of the kind, it requires no less strength of mind to bear it bravely if it come to pass. And Dolabella was so utterly regardless of the dictates of humanity, in which he never had much share, that he practised his insatiable cruelty not only on the living man but on his corpse, and fed his eyes, as he could not glut his appetite, in mangling and mutilating the dead body.

4. And all the time, Dolabella, how much more miserable you are than he whom you wished to be the most miserable of men! Trebonius endured great anguish: many have experienced greater from the severity of disease, and yet we do not say that they are miserable, but suffering. Two days of suffering is a long time, yet many have often borne it for many years: nor indeed are the tortures of the rack more terrible than those which are sometimes inflicted by disease. There are others—others I tell you, O you most abandoned crew of lunatics!—which are far more miserable still; for, in proportion as the strength of the mind is greater than the strength of the body, so those sufferings which have their origin in the mind are heavier to bear than those which reside in the body. The man, then, who lets

himself be guilty of a crime is far more miserable than anyone who is compelled to submit to wrongdoing at another's hands. Trebonius was tortured by Dolabella, so was Regulus by the Carthaginians. And seeing that, on that account, the Carthaginians were considered most cruel in their treatment of an enemy, what must we think of Dolabella for thus dealing with a fellow-citizen? Is there any parallel between the cases? or can we doubt which is the more miserable of the two? the one whose death the senate and the Roman people are eager to avenge, or the one who has been declared a public enemy by a unanimous vote of the senate? For in all the other circumstances of their lives, there is no one who could compare the career of Trebonius to that of Dolabella without the greatest insult to Trebonius. The one has shown sagacity, talent, humanity, probity, which none can fail to recognise, to say nothing of the greatness of soul which he displayed in giving freedom to his country. The other from his very boyhood made cruelty his sport, and presently was so infamous in his lusts, that he has always triumphed in the fact that his deeds were of a character which could not be found fault with, even by an enemy who was a modest man. And this man, O good Heavens, was once a member of my family! for his vices were not seen without inquiry. Nor even now, perhaps, would our estrangement have occurred, had he not proved a foe to us, to the walls of his country, to this city, to his household gods, to the hearths and altars of each one of us, in short to nature and mankind in general. And, taking a lesson from him, let us be more diligent and watchful in our precautions against Antonius.

For Dolabella had not very many notable and conspicuous ruffians in his train; but see what a numerous, and what a desperate following is with Antonius! To begin with his brother Lucius. What a firebrand! What a mass of crime and wickedness! What a sink and whirlpool of iniquity! What, think you, is there which he is not devouring in his mind, or gulping down in his thoughts? Whose blood is he not thirsting for? On

5.

whose possessions and fortunes is he not setting in hope and heart most shameless eyes? Or what say you of Censorinus? who was always saying that he wished to be prætor of the city, but has shown himself, in fact, unwilling so to be. Or Bestia? who declares himself a candidate for the consulship in the place of Brutus?—may Jupiter avert the hideous omen! But how absurd that a man should be a candidate for the consulship who has failed to be elected prætor! unless, indeed, he counts a conviction for bribery as his prætorship. Like a second Cæsar Vopiscus, who, being a man of the highest talent and the greatest influence, stood for the consulship after only being ædile, he seeks exemption from the operation of the laws, although the laws already fail to bind him, on account, I suppose, of his surpassing merits. Yet he was acquitted on five occasions on which I defended him; a sixth victory in the city is difficult even for a gladiator. But this is the fault of the jury, not mine. I defended him in all good faith; it was their duty to retain in the state so noble and excellent a senator. And yet at present his whole object seems to be that we may understand that the judgment, which we have rendered null and void, was rightly passed, and to the interest of the state. Nor is this peculiar to Bestia: there are others in the same camp who were honestly condemned and disgracefully recalled. What do you expect from these, who are the enemies of all good men, except a policy of the most cruel kind? There is besides a certain Saxa, whom Cæsar gave to us as a tribune of the commons from the furthest part of Central Spain, a surveyor of the camp in olden times; but now he hopes to measure out the city. Yet since he is a stranger there, may the omen recoil on his own head, without injury to us! With him is Cafo, the veteran, whom the veterans hate more bitterly than any other man. On these Antonius has bestowed land in Campania, as it were in addition to the dowry which they had received during the troubles in the state, that they might have something more with which to nurse their other farms. And would they were content with this!

We would put up with it, intolerable as it is ; but anything should be endured, if only we could be delivered from this atrocious war.

Have you not, then, before your eyes those stars of the camp of Marcus Antonius? First, the two colleagues of the Antonii and Dolabella, Nucula and Lento, dividers of Italy, in accordance with the law which the senate pronounced to have been passed by violence, of whom the one composed mimes, the other acted in a tragedy. What shall I say of Domitius the Apulian, whose goods I saw but yesterday exposed for sale, so great has been the carelessness of the assignees? Yet he lately mixed a cup of poison for his nephew, but did not administer it. But these men cannot help living extravagantly, when they are hoping for our property, after squandering their own. I saw also the auction of the goods of Publius Decius, an illustrious man, who, following the example of his ancestors, sacrificed himself as a martyr—for his debts. Yet no one was found as a purchaser at that sale. So absurd was it for a man to think that he could escape the debts he owed to others, by selling what was not his own. For what shall I say of Trebellius, on whom the Furies of the debtor have apparently taken vengeance? for here a clearance catalogue asserts the right of clearance from our debts. What of Titus Plancus, whom the gallant Aquila drove out of Pollentia, and that with his legs broken? I only wish that this had happened previously, at the executioner's hands, that he might not have been able to come back here. I had almost passed over that light and glory of the army, Titus Annius Cimber, the son of Lysidicus—Lysidicus himself, if we look at the meaning of the word, since he has broken every law; unless, indeed, Cimber had a right to kill one germanely related to himself. With these associates and such a number like them, what crime will Antonius leave uncommitted, when Dolabella has involved himself in such awful murders with a much inferior band of ruffians? And, therefore, as I have often unwillingly differed from Quintus Fufius, so now I willingly support his motion. From

6.

this you should conclude that I am in the habit of disagreeing, not with the man, but with the policy. Accordingly, I not only support Fufius, I thank him; for he has proposed a course which is marked by vigour and dignity, and which is worthy of the republic; he has pronounced Dolabella a public enemy, and demanded the confiscation of his goods. And though nothing could have been added to this, for what more severe or vigorous proposal could he have made, yet he said that if any of those who followed him in the debate should propose a more unsparing measure, he would vote for it. Who could possibly avoid praising sternness such as this?

7. Now, since Dolabella has been pronounced a public enemy, we must follow him with war. He himself is not remaining quiet; he has with him a legion, he has fugitive slaves, he has an accursed band of rebels; he himself is resolute, unbridled in his passion, and bent on dying by a violent death. Wherefore, since by yesterday's vote, declaring Dolabella a public enemy, we are pledged to war, the next thing is to choose a general. Two proposals have been made, of which I like neither: the one because I think it always dangerous, except when absolutely necessary; the other because I think it unsuited to the times. For an extraordinary command is unsubstantial, and liable to follow the temper of the mob; it is unsuited to the dignity either of ourselves or of this House. In the serious and important war with Antiochus, the province of Asia having fallen to the lot of Lucius Scipio, who was thought to have too little spirit and vigour for conducting it, the senate proposed to entrust its management to Gaius Lælius, the father of Lælius the Wise, whose name is so familiar to us all; when Publius Africanus, the elder brother of Lucius Scipio, rose in his place, and prayed that such disgrace might not befall his family, saying that his brother was really possessed of the greatest valour and the greatest sagacity, and that he, in spite of his age and exploits, would not refuse to attend his brother as second in command. Upon his saying this, no change

was made in the province of Lucius Scipio, nor was any extraordinary commission required for that war, any more than for the two most important Punic wars which went before it, which were carried on and brought to a conclusion by consuls and dictators, or for the war with Pyrrhus or with Philippos, or in later times in the Achæan war, or the third Punic war. For this last, when the Roman people selected for itself a suitable general, yet it chose that he should carry on the war as consul.

8. Against Aristonicus war was to be waged with Publius Licinius Crassus and Lucius Valerius Flaccus as consuls. The people were asked whom they desired to have for the conduct of the war, when the consul Crassus, being pontifex maximus, threatened to fine his colleague Flaccus, who was flamen of Mars, if he left his priestly duties. The Roman people remitted the fine, but ordered the flamen to obey the pontifex. But not even then did the Roman people entrust the war to a private individual, though there was Africanus, who had triumphed in the previous year over the people of Numantia; but though he far surpassed all in valour and military fame, he only gained the votes of two tribes. Accordingly, the Roman people gave the conduct of the war rather to Crassus, as being consul, than to Africanus, as a private individual. The commands given to Gnæus Pompeius, that most eminent man, and chief of all commanders, were proposed by seditious tribunes of the commons. For the war against Sertorius was only entrusted by the senate to a private individual because the consuls both refused to go, whence Lucius Philippos said the proconsul went not as a deputy consul, but as deputy for the consuls. What, then, is this election? Or what this candidature for office which that most loyal and influential citizen, Lucius Cæsar, has introduced into the senate? He has proposed to confer military command on a most gallant citizen of unimpeachable integrity, but a private individual; and in this he has imposed on us a very serious responsibility. Suppose that I support him, I shall have introduced canvassing

into the senate. If I refuse, I shall seem by my vote as though it were at an election to have refused the distinction to one of my greatest friends. But if we are to have an election in the senate, let us have a regular candidature and canvass; let us presently have the voting-tablet given to us, as it is to the people. Why do you force this alteration upon us, Cæsar, either that so distinguished a man should seem to have met with a rebuff, if your proposal be not carried, or that each of us should seem to be passed over, if with the same position we are not thought worthy of the same promotion? But you will say—for so I hear it whispered—that by my own proposal I gave an extraordinary command to the stripling Gaius Cæsar. Yes, for he had given to me extraordinary protection; and when I say to *me*, I mean to the senate and the Roman people. When the state has received such protection from a man, without even thinking of it, that except for it she could not have been safe, was I not to confer on him an extraordinary command? I was bound either to give him the command or to take his army from him. For on what principle, or by what contrivance, can an army be retained without the right of commanding it? We must not, therefore, suppose that everything is given which is not taken away. You would have wrested the command, my lords, from Gaius Cæsar, if you had not granted it to him. The veterans who were influenced by his authority and his command, and his name, to take up arms in defence of the state, were anxious to be under his command. The Martian and fourth legions, in supporting the authority of the senate and the honour of the republic, demanded Gaius Cæsar as their leader and their general. The necessities of war gave Gaius Cæsar the command; the senate gave him only the ensigns of authority. But I appeal to you, Lucius Cæsar—I am dealing with a man well versed in precedents—when did the senate ever give a command to a private individual staying quietly at home and doing nothing?

But enough of this, that I may not seem to be taking

pleasure in opposing an intimate friend to whom I am under great obligations; and yet who can oppose a man who is not only not seeking but even shrinking from an office? But the other proposal to which I referred, my lords, is consistent neither with the honour of the consuls nor with the gravity of the crisis; the proposal that in order to prosecute the war against Dolabella, the consuls should divide by lot between them the provinces of Asia and Syria. I will say presently why it is inexpedient for the state, but see first what dishonour it brings upon the consuls. When the consul-elect is being besieged, while the whole safety of the state turns on his release, when pestilent citizens and murderers have revolted from the people of Rome, when we are waging a war in which the contest is for honour, for liberty, for life, when tortures of every kind are prepared for anyone who falls into the power of Antonius, and when the struggle which is involved in all this has been entrusted to the charge of consuls of the greatest loyalty and courage, is it a time to talk of Asia and Syria, so as to seem either to give suspicion something to lay hold of, or to lay a foundation for unpopularity? But they propose that this decree should take effect 'after the release of Brutus.' The only other thing they could have said was 'after his desertion, abandonment, betrayal.' But I say that any mention of the provinces at all is inopportune in the extreme. For however your attention, Gaius Pansa, may be fixed, as unquestionably it is, on setting free the bravest and noblest of men, still the force of circumstances will compel you irresistibly to direct your mind at times to the pursuit of Dolabella, and to divert some portion of your thoughts and care to Asia and Syria. If, indeed, it were possible, I could wish you even to have more than one mind, that they might all be fixed on Mutina. And since this cannot be, we wish you, with the most powerful and virtuous mind which you do possess, to think of nothing else than Brutus. You are doing this, I understand, and devoting all your energies to it; but two things at a time, especially important things, are not

only more than any man can do, but more than he can keep distinctly before him in his thoughts. What we are bound to do is to arouse and inflame the transcendent eagerness which you display, not to divert it in any degree to any other case.

10. Add to this the common talk of men, add their suspicions, add the odium incurred. Follow my example, which you have always praised; I gave up a province excellently ordered and equipped by the senate, that I might give my undivided thoughts to extinguishing the conflagration which was devastating our country. No one except myself, with whom our close friendship would certainly have led you to consult, had you thought your interests were in any way concerned, will believe that the province was allotted to you without your own consent. I entreat you to follow the dictates of your own superior wisdom, put down this report, and avoid seeming to desire what you do not really care about. And you are bound to do this with all the greater eagerness, because the same suspicion cannot light on your most distinguished colleague. He knows nothing of all this, he suspects nothing; he is carrying on the war, he is in the field, he is fighting for bare life; he will hear that the province has been given by decree to him before he can have any suspicion that time has been given to any such considerations. I am very much afraid that our armies, too, which have come forward to defend the state, not under the pressure of a levy, but with the zeal of volunteers, will be somewhat checked in their ardour, if they think that anything but the immediately urgent war has occupied our thoughts. But if provinces appear fit objects of ambition to the consuls, as they often have before appeared to men of high renown, first restore to us Brutus, the light and glory of the state, who ought to be preserved by us with the same care as the statue which fell down from Heaven and is kept in the custody of Vesta, whose safety will secure our own. Then we will raise you even to Heaven, if we can, upon our shoulders; at any rate, we will choose for you the provinces most worthy of your prowess; but now let us

keep to the matter in hand. The question is, whether we are to live in freedom, or to die? for death is certainly to be preferred to slavery. What should you say if this proposal even caused delay in pursuing Dolabella? for when will the consul come? Are we waiting till no vestige of the states and cities of Asia be left? 'But they will send some one of their own rank.' That is very likely to meet with my approval, who just now refused to give an extraordinary command to the most illustrious private citizen. 'But they will send a man worthy of the position.' One more worthy than Publius Servilius? The man does not exist within the state. Should I be likely to trust an appointment to the judgment of an individual, when I have held that no one should receive it even from the senate? We want a man who is at liberty and ready for the work, my lords; we want one invested with legitimate command; one, moreover, who has influence, and a name, and an army, and whose loyalty has been tried in fighting for the freedom of the state.

Who, then, is the man? Either Marcus Brutus or Gaius Cassius, or both of them. I should propose simply, as is often done with the consuls, 'one or both of them,' had we not bound Brutus to remain in Greece, and determined that it would be better that any aid from him should take the direction of Italy rather than of Asia. Not that we might have a place to fly to if worsted in Italy, but that the army there might itself have something to support it from beyond the sea. And besides, my lords, Marcus Brutus is detained there even now by Gaius Antonius, who holds Apollonia, a large and important city, who holds, I believe, Byllis and Amantia, and is threatening Epirus, and pressing on Oricum, with a few cohorts and some cavalry under his command. Hence, if Brutus is transferred to another war, we must certainly lose Greece. We have also to consider Brundisium and that coast of Italy. And yet I wonder that Antonius is wasting so much time; he is commonly in the habit of putting on his gloves and marching off, without enduring for so long the terrors

11.

of a siege. But if Brutus gets his work finished, and sees he can be of more use to the state by pursuing Dolabella than by remaining in Greece, he will act upon his own responsibility, as he has done hitherto, and will not wait for the action of the senate, when such a general conflagration calls for instant help. For both Brutus and Cassius have been senate to themselves ere now in many things. In such a universal overturn and confusion men must be guided by the exigencies of the times rather than by the ordinary rules of conduct. Nor is this the first time that either Brutus or Cassius has come to the decision that the safety and freedom of their country are the holiest of laws and the noblest of moral precepts. Therefore, if nothing were proposed to us about pursuing Dolabella, yet I should consider that we had as good as a decree, when there were found men of such surpassing merit in respect of birth and influence and valour, of whose armies one is already close at hand within our cognizance, and the other is known to us by fame.

12. Did Brutus, then, wait for our decrees, when he knew our wishes? For he did not go to his own province of Crete; he went with all speed into Macedonia, which was another's; he considered that everything was his which you desired to be yours; he enrolled new legions; he took over the old ones; he withdrew the cavalry from Dolabella to himself, and though the latter was as yet unstained by such an awful murder, he treated him on his own responsibility as a public enemy; for unless he were an enemy, by what right could he withdraw the cavalry from a consul? Again, did not Gaius Cassius, a man of equally high soul and deep sagacity, set out from Italy with the expressed object of keeping Dolabella out of Syria? But by what law? On what principle? On that which Jupiter himself has sanctioned, that everything beneficial to the state should be considered lawful and just. For law is nothing else than a system of right derived from divine inspiration, enjoining what is honourable, and forbidding the reverse. This law, then,

Cassius obeyed when he set out for Syria, another's province, if men followed written laws, but when these were trampled under foot, his own by the law of nature. But in order that this law also may have the sanction of your authority, I move that whereas Publius Dolabella, with those who have been his instruments, accomplices, and partners in a most foul and cruel crime, has been pronounced by the senate to be the enemy of the Roman people, and whereas the senate has decreed that war should be levied against Publius Dolabella, that he who has polluted all the rights of gods and men with a new, unheard of, and inexpressible crime, and has involved himself in the guilt of an atrocious act of treason, should pay the full penalty which he has incurred and merits at the hands of gods and men; it is the pleasure of the senate that Gaius Cassius, proconsul, should hold the province of Syria, as one who holds it with the firmest title; and that he shall receive their several armies from Quintus Marcius, proconsul; from Lucius Staius Marcus, proconsul; and from Aulus Alienus, *legatus*, and that they shall give them over to him; and that he shall pursue Publius Dolabella by sea and land, with those forces and any others he may get together; and that for the purpose of carrying on that war, he shall have the right and power in Syria, Asia, Bithynia, and Pontus of making requisition for such ships, sailors, money, and other munitions of war as may seem good to him; and that whatever province he shall enter for the sake of carrying on that war, there the power of Gaius Cassius shall be superior to that of the man who shall be in command of the province when Gaius Cassius, proconsul, shall arrive in it; that King Deiotarus, the father, and King Deiotarus, the son, will earn the gratitude of the senate and the Roman people if they aid Gaius Cassius, proconsul, with their forces and resources in like manner as they have frequently aided the military power of the Roman people in former wars; and that if the other kings, tetrarchs, and governors shall do likewise, the senate and the Roman people will not be unmindful of the service done by them; and that

Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, the consuls, one or both of them, if it so seem good to them, shall at the earliest moment after the establishment of the republic, bring the question of the consular and prætorian provinces before this House; that, in the meanwhile, the provinces shall be held by those who hold them now, till their successors are appointed by a decree of the senate.

13. By this decree of the senate you will add fuel to the existing ardour of Gaius Cassius, you will replenish his well-filled store of arms; for, indeed, you cannot ignore either his spirits or his forces. His spirits are such as you see; his forces are such as I have told you, consisting of brave and resolute men, who, even without the murder of Trebonius, would never have allowed the rufianism of Dolabella to penetrate into Asia. Allienus, my intimate friend and connexion, will assuredly not allow himself, after Trebonius' death, even to be called the *legatus* of Dolabella. Quintus Cæcilius Bassus, a brave and gallant man, though holding no commission, has a strong and victorious army. The Deiotari, both father and son, have large armies, organised in Roman fashion. The son is a man of the greatest promise, with great powers of intellect and great excellence of character. Of the father, what shall I say? His goodwill towards the Roman people dates from his very birth; he has not only been the ally of our generals in war, but has taken the field in person at the head of his troops. What do we hear of him from Sulla, from Murena, from Servilius, from Lucullus? In what high and weighty terms of honour and distinction have they often spoken of him in the senate! What shall I say of Gnæus Pompeius? who declared Deiotarus to stand alone in the world as being the friend and well-wisher and faithful ally of the Roman people. Marcus Bibulus and I have held commands in provinces bordering on each other; we were both of us helped by this same king with both cavalry and infantry. Then followed this most bitter and calamitous civil war, in which I need not say what Deiotarus should have done, or which would have been the better course, especially as victory

declared itself on the side opposed to the feelings of Deiotarus. In that war, if he was wrong, he shared his error with the senate; if his view was right, not even the vanquished side should be abused. To this cause other kings, other levies, will be added. Nor will fleets be wanting, so great is the esteem of the Tyrians for Cassius, so great the power of his name in Syria and Phœnicia.

The republic has in Gaius Cassius, my lords, a general ready to fight against Dolabella, and not only ready, but experienced and brave. He achieved a great success even before the arrival of the gallant Bibulus, when he routed the numerous army of so consummate a general as Pacorus, and freed Syria from the savage inroad of the Parthians. I pass over his greatest deed, which marks such extraordinary merit; for as the mention of it is not yet pleasing in the ears of all, it would be well to preserve its record in our memory rather than by our words. I have heard a whisper, my lords, that I am blamed for overpraising Brutus and Cassius; nay, that to Cassius my proposal gives absolute and irresponsible authority. Who are they that I praise? Surely those who are themselves an honour to the state. What! have I not always praised Decimus Brutus in all my proposals? Do you find fault with me for that? Should I rather praise the Antonii, the reproach and disgrace not only of their own families, but of the Roman name? Or should I praise Censorinus, an enemy in war, a purchaser of confiscated property in time of peace? Or should I collect the other wrecks from the same piratical crew? So far, indeed, am I from praising those foes to peace and concord, those enemies of all law and fair trial and liberty, that I cannot possibly help hating them as cordially as I love the state. Take care, says he, that you do not offend the veterans; for this I hear whispered more than any other single thing. I grant that I am bound to respect the interests of the veterans, that is to say, the loyal veterans; to fear them I assuredly am in no wise bound. But those veterans who have taken up arms in behalf of the republic, and fol-

14.

lowed Gaius Cæsar, who guaranteed the benefaction of his father, and who are at the present day defending the republic at the peril of their lives, I am bound not only to consider, but to load with additional advantages. And those who remain neutral, as the seventh and eighth legions, I consider deserving of great glory and praise. But as for the followers of Antonius, who, after devouring what they got from Cæsar's liberality, are besieging the consul-elect, threatening this city with fire and sword, who have handed themselves over to Saxa and Cafo, men born for crime and plunder; does anyone think their interests should be considered? The veterans, then, may be divided into the loyal, whom we ought even to distinguish; the neutral, whom we ought to preserve; and the traitors against whose frenzy we have justly taken up arms.

15. Who, then, are these veterans whose feelings we are afraid of offending? Those who desire to free Decimus Brutus from blockade? Since they have at heart the safety of a Brutus, how can they hate the name of Cassius? Those who assume the arms of neither side? I am not afraid that any one of those who delight in tranquillity will bear malice in his capacity of citizen. But on the third class, consisting not of veteran soldiers, but of most rapacious enemies, I desire to impress the brand of bitterest pain. And yet, my lords, how long shall our votes be given at the dictation of the veterans? What is their arrogance, their self-assertion, that we should even choose our generals as they dictate? For my part, I must say, my lords, exactly what I think. I am of opinion that we should not so much consider the interests of the veterans, as the sentiments entertained of your resolution by the recruits, the flower of Italy, by the new legions which are so zealous for the freedom of their country, by the whole of Italy. For nothing is for ever in its prime; age succeeds to age. The legions of Cæsar have long been powerful; now those of Pansa, of Hirtius, of Cæsar's son, of Plan-
cus, are powerful in turn; they have the advantage in number, they have the advantage in age; they have the

advantage also in authority ; for the war which they are waging is sanctioned by all the nations of the world. These, therefore, have their rewards promised to them in the future ; the others have received their full share in the past. Let them enjoy what they have got, while we pay these what we have promised them ; for this I hope the immortal gods will pronounce to be most fair. On this account, my lords, I think that the proposal which I made to you should be affirmed.



INTRODUCTION

TO

THE TWELFTH ORATION.



IN spite of the ill-success which had attended the embassy to Antonius, his friends continued their efforts to have him acknowledged as a citizen of Rome; and towards the end of March Pansa was prevailed upon to propose that a second embassy should be sent to him, with P. Servilius and Cicero among its members. The senate assented to the motion, but the next day Cicero procured the reversal of their decision, delivering on the occasion his twelfth oration, in which he shows both that the embassy would be in the highest degree detrimental to the public interests, and that he himself was in every way the most unfit person to entrust with such a task.

THE TWELFTH ORATION.

ALTHOUGH I think that it is very far from fitting, my lords, that a man whose advice you have often followed in matters of the highest importance should be deceived, cajoled, mistaken, yet I take some comfort that I have erred in company with you and with a consul of the greatest wisdom. For when two consulars brought us the hope of an honourable peace, seeing that they were friends of Marcus Antonius, and attached to his suite, it seemed probable that they were aware of some blow which had fallen upon him without our knowing it. At the house of one of them are the wife and children of Antonius, the other is daily receiving and sending letters to him, and is his open partisan. These men all at once began to urge a peace, not apparently without cause, as they had not done so for some time past. A consul joined in the advice. And what a consul! If we look for sagacity, he was one who could not be deceived; if we look for loyalty, he would never urge a peace unless on the defeat and submission of Antonius; if for greatness of soul, he was one to choose death in preference to slavery. But you, my lords, seemed not so much to forget your most important decrees, as to be induced by the hope of a surrender, which his friends preferred to call a peace, to think not of accepting but of imposing terms. My hopes, and I think also yours, had been encouraged by the news that the household of Anto-

1.

nius was overwhelmed with distress, and that his wife was uttering lamentations. . . . In this House I saw his partisans, on whom I keep my eyes habitually fixed, less cheerful than usual. If this is not so, why is the subject of peace brought forward, especially by Piso and Calenus? why at this conjuncture, why so unexpectedly and suddenly? Piso says that he knows nothing, and has heard nothing; Calenus declares that no new tidings have arrived. And this they maintain now, when they think that we are committed to an embassy for making peace. What need, then, is there of a change in policy if there is no alteration in the circumstances?

2. We have been deceived, deceived I say, my lords. The cause of Antonius, not that of the state, has been pleaded by his friends. And this I seemed to see, but through a kind of mist; the safety of Decimus Brutus has blunted the keenness of my perception. But if substitutes were commonly allowed in war, I would gladly secure the release of Decimus Brutus, by allowing myself to be blockaded in his place. And we were taken by the words of Quintus Fufius, 'Shall we not listen to Antonius, even if he retires from Mutina? Not even if he says he will submit to the authority of the senate?' It seemed hard; and so we were driven from our purpose, and gave way. Is he retiring, then, from Mutina? 'I do not know.' Is he obeying the senate? 'I believe so,' says Calenus, 'so far as is consistent with his honour.' Truly then, by Hercules, my lords, you must struggle to get rid of your own honour, which is incalculable, and to maintain his, which neither has nor can have any real existence, that he may receive at your hands what he has wilfully thrown away. If he were to enter on negotiations lying prostrate at your feet, I might, perhaps, hear him; although—but I had rather say, I would hear him. So long as he refuses to bow, we must either resist, or surrender honour and liberty alike. But, it is said, the question is no longer open; the embassy is decided on. What question is no longer open to a wise man, so

long as it can be set right? Any man may make a blunder; none but a fool will persevere in one; for second thoughts, as they say, are wont to be the best. The mist is dispersed, of which I spoke just now; the light shines through, the thing is clear; we see it all, yet not entirely of ourselves, but through the warnings of our friends. You heard just now the statement of a most distinguished man. I found the house, he said, the wife, the children all in mourning. Good men were surprised, my friends found fault with me, that I had been led by any hopes of peace to undertake the embassy. And no wonder, Publius Servilius. For by your most stern and weighty proposals Antonius had been bereft, I do not say of all his honour, but even of any hope of safety. That you should go on an embassy to him must cause astonishment in anyone. I judge by my own experience, knowing how much I am blamed for a course of conduct like your own. Are we alone found fault with? Was it without cause that Pansa, that bravest of men, made such a careful and such a lengthy speech? What was his object except to remove from himself an ungrounded suspicion of treachery? And whence did that suspicion arise? From the sudden advocacy of peace, which all of a sudden he took up, under the same delusion as ourselves.

But if a mistake has been made, my lords, under the influence of a groundless and deceitful hope, let us retrace our steps. The best haven for a penitent is a change of counsel. For what good, in Heaven's name, can our embassy possibly do the state? Good, do I say? What, if it shall even do it harm? Or why, again, the future? What, if it has already done it harm? Think you that when they hear of an embassy for peace there will be no diminution or slackening in the eager and gallant desire which the Roman people have shown of recovering their liberty? What think you of the borough towns, and colonies, and the whole of Italy? Will they continue to show the same zeal with which they have blazed forth against the common conflagration? Can we suppose that there will be no regret for

having professed and exhibited such hatred against Antonius, on the part of those who have promised money and arms, and given themselves over soul and body to the salvation of the state? How will Capua, which at present is a second Rome, approve of our design? She, pronouncing them traitors, expelled them and kept them out. From the strenuous efforts of that city, aye, of Capua, it required force to rescue Antonius. Again, have we not sapped the strength of our legions by this policy? For, with the hope of peace before him, who will face enthusiasm for war? The very Martian legion, for all its god-like and divine prestige, will languish at this news, and become effeminate, and lose its noble name of Martian. Their swords will fall from their grasp, their arms slip from their hands. Following the lead of the senate, they will not think that they should feel towards Antonius a deeper hatred than this House. We feel shame in the presence of this legion, and of the fourth; which, recognising our authority with no less loyalty, quitted Antonius as being, not the consul or their general, but a public enemy, and the assailant of his country. We are ashamed before the excellent army which is made up of the two legions, which has now been solemnly purified, and has set out for Mutina; for if it hears the name of peace, that is of our fear, even supposing it does not retreat, it certainly will stay its steps. For when the senate sounds the trumpet for recall, why should it be eager to engage?

4.

And what can possibly be more unjust than to decide on peace without the knowledge of those who are carrying on the war, and not without their knowledge only, but against their will? Do you think that the most distinguished consul, Aulus Hirtius, or Gaius Cæsar, who is given us by Heaven for this emergency, whose letters I hold in my hand, declaring their hope of victory, are either of them desirous of peace? They seek to conquer, they desire to make that sweetest and most noble name of peace their own, not by negotiations, but by victory. Again, with what feelings do you think that Gaul will hear of this? which has taken

the leading part in repelling and managing and maintaining the burden of this war; and Gaul, following the mere impulse, it were too much to say the command of Decimus Brutus, placed the war at its outset on a firm basis, with arms and men and money. She exposed herself without reserve to the cruelty of Marcus Antonius; she is exhausted with pillage, rapine, and fire; she bears all wrongs with patience, if she only may repel the risk of slavery. And to pass over the other parts of Gaul, for they are all alike, the people of Padua have excluded some and cast out others of the emissaries of Antonius; they have aided our generals with money, with men, and, most acceptable of all, with arms. The rest have done the same, who were formerly in the same position as Padua, and were thought to be estranged from the senate by wrongs endured through many years. Not that there is any reason to be surprised at their fidelity, now that they have obtained a share in the franchise, seeing that even when they were without it they never failed in their loyalty to the state. When all these, then, are filled with hopes of victory, shall we confront them with the name of peace, that is, with despair of the victory for which they hope?

What if any peace is in itself impossible? For what terms of peace can there be, when no concession can be granted to him with whom you make it? Antonius has been invited in many ways by us to peace, but he has chosen war in preference. Envoys have been sent, against my will, but yet they have been sent; your orders were conveyed to him; he has refused obedience. Commands were laid on him to abstain from blockading Brutus, and to raise the siege of Mutina; he has attacked it with even greater energy. And shall we send ambassadors to treat for peace with one who would not listen to the messengers whom we sent to offer peace? Can we suppose that he will be more modest in his requirements than he was when he sent orders to the senate? The fact is rather that then his demands were unconscionable enough, but still such as might in some degree have been conceded. He had not as yet received his

5.

deathblow at your hands from the many severe verdicts which you have passed to his disgrace ; now he is asking what we cannot give on any consideration, except as following on an acknowledgment that we are conquered. We have decided that forged decrees of the senate were lodged in the treasury by him. Can we decide that they are genuine? We have passed a resolution that his laws were proposed in violent defiance of the auspices, and that neither the people nor the commons can be bound by them. Do you think that they can be reinstated? You have decided that Antonius appropriated six millions of the public money. Can he be held not guilty of embezzlement? He sold exemptions from taxation to subject states ; he trafficked in priestly offices and royal thrones. Will you again enact those measures which you cancelled by your decrees?

6. But if we can annul our decrees, can we also blot out the recollection of what has taken place? For when will any future generation forget whose crime it was that has occasioned our present mournful dress? Even though the blood of the centurions of the Martian legion could be washed out, which was shed by Antonius at Brundisium, could the commemoration of his cruelty be washed out? To pass over all that intervened, what lapse of time will remove the foul records of his works about Mutina, the tokens of his crimes and the traces of his brigandage? To this ravening and polluted murderer what concession, in the name of Heaven, can we make by any possibility? Shall we give him Further Gaul and an army? What is this but to prolong the war, instead of making peace, and not only to prolong the war, but even to concede the victory? Will it not be victory for him if on any terms he comes into this city? As it is, we hold the position by force of arms ; we have the greatest influence. Multitudes of disloyal citizens are away, having followed their infamous leader ; yet we cannot bear the looks and talk of those who still remain behind. What think you? When they all burst in together, if we disarm while they retain their arms, shall we not be van-

quished for ever, as the result of our own policy? Figure to yourselves Marcus Antonius as consular. Add to the picture Lucius, a candidate for the consulship. Fill in the portraits of the rest, not all of them belonging to our order, contemplating office and command. Do not despise even the Tirones, the Numisii, the Seii, the Mustelæ. Peace made with them will be a compact, not of peace, but of slavery. The noble speech of that distinguished man, Lucius Piso, was deservedly praised by you, Pansa, not only in this House, but at a public meeting. He said that he would quit Italy, and leave the home of his fathers and his household gods, if Antonius—which Heaven forbid!—should crush the republic.

I ask you, therefore, Lucius Piso, should you not think that the republic was crushed, if so many disloyal, audacious, and guilty men were readmitted into Rome? Think you that they whom we could scarcely bear before they were stained with such atrocious murders, will be endurable in the state, now that they are covered with every kind of crime? Believe me, we must either follow the course which you suggest; we must either give way, depart, and live a life of penury as vagabonds, or we must offer our necks to the ruffians, and fall on the soil of our country. Where, Gaius Pansa, are those noble exhortations by which the senate was aroused, the Roman people fired with enthusiasm, so that they not only heard, but learned the lesson by heart, that for a Roman nothing is more base than slavery? Was it for this that we donned the garb of war and took up arms, and sifted out the finest of our youth from the whole of Italy, that envoys should be sent for peace? If it is to sue for it, why was that put to us? if to demand it, what have we to fear? Am I to go on such an embassy, or mix myself with such a policy, in which the Roman people will not even know if I dissent from all the rest? The result will be that if any concession, any relaxation be granted, any future crimes of Antonius will always be at my risk, since I shall seem to have put it in his power to commit them.

7.

But if any terms of peace are to be allowed with the ruffians of Marcus Antonius, I am the last person who should have been chosen for their negotiation. I never voted for the embassy. I ventured, before the return of the envoys, to say that if they brought the goddess Peace herself, we should reject her, since war would lurk beneath the name of peace. I took the lead in advising that we should wear the garb of war. I always called him an enemy, when others called him an opponent. I always called it a war, when others used the name of tumult. And this not only in the senate. I always followed the same course before the people; and not only against Antonius himself have I always inveighed, but against the tools and partners of his crimes, whether present in Rome or absent with him; in short, against the whole of his house. Accordingly, when disloyal citizens, eager and rejoicing at the hope that was offered them of peace, were congratulating each other as though the victory were theirs, they challenged my appointment as being prejudiced; they complained of me. They also were distrustful of Servilius, remembering that Antonius had been rendered helpless by his votes. They bore in mind that Lucius Cæsar, though a brave and loyal senator, was yet his uncle; that Calenus was his agent, Piso his intimate friend. Yourself, Pansa, brave and energetic consul as you are, they believe to have relaxed in your severity. Not that it is or can be so, but your making mention of peace has caused many to suspect that you have somewhat changed your mind. The friends of Antonius are vexed that I have been thrust in among this company, and we must humour them, since complaisance is the order of the day.

8. Let the envoys start with all good omens, but let those who go be men at whose coming Antonius will not take offence. And if, my lords, you do not trouble about Antonius, you ought at least to think of me. At least spare my eyes, and make some allowance for righteous grief. With what countenance can I behold—I do not say the enemy of my country, the hatred

which I feel for him on that score is felt by you as well—but how shall I look on one who reserves the deepest intensity of his cruelty for me, as the bitterness of his harangues against me shows? Think you that I am made of steel, that I can meet him or rest my eyes on him? Why, lately, at a public meeting, when bestowing gifts on such of his murderers as seemed the most daring of the crew, he said that he would give my property to Petissius of Urbinum, who, in the wreck of a wealthy patrimony, was cast upon these rocks of Antonius. Can I look on Lucius Antonius, whose cruelty I could never have escaped, had I not saved myself by the walls and gates and zealous interference of my native town, Arpinum? And this same Asiatic gladiator, the pirate of Italy, the colleague of Lento and Nucula, when giving golden pieces to Aquila the centurion, said that he gave them from my property. Had he said that he gave them from his own, I suppose he thought that not even Aquila would believe him. My eyes, I say, will not endure to look on Saxa, or Cafo, or the two prætors, or the tribune of the commons, or the two tribunes elect, or Bestia, or Trebellius, or Titus Plancus. I cannot look with equanimity on so many ravenous and accursed enemies, and that, not from fastidiousness on my own account, but from the love I bear the state. But I will control my feelings, and put force upon myself. If I cannot crush, I will conceal my righteous grief. What? think you, my lords, that I should take any account of life? To me, indeed, it has few charms, especially since Dolabella has made me wish for death, if only it were free from torture. But in your eyes, in the eyes of the Roman people, my life should not be cheap. For I am a man, if I do not deceive myself, who by watchfulness, by care, by my votes, nay, even by the many perils which I have encountered through the exceeding bitter hate which all disloyal citizens conceive against me, have at least managed not to hurt the state, since modesty prevents my telling all that I have done for it.

This being so, think you that I should have no re-

gard for my own safety? Here, though in the city and at home, yet many attacks have been made on me, where I am defended by the loyalty of my friends and the eyes of all the state; and think you, then, that I need fear no plots, when I have entered on a journey, especially of such length? There are three roads to the army before Mutina, a place to which I hasten in imagination, that I may behold without delay that hostage for the freedom of the Roman people, Decimus Brutus, in whose embrace I would gladly surrender my last breath, when all the actions of the past months, all my votes had gained the end which they had had in view. There are, as I said, three roads—the Flaminian, by the upper sea; the Aurelian, by the lower sea; the Cassian, in the middle. Now listen, I beg of you, and see whether my suspicion of danger is unfounded. The Cassian road passes through the middle of Etruria. Do we know, then, Pansa, in what locality Lento Cæsennius is at present, with his authority as *septemvir*? He is certainly not with us, either in person or in feeling. But if he is at home, or in the neighbourhood of home, then he must be in Etruria, that is, on my road. Who, then, guarantees to me that Lento will be content with his one murder? Tell me, too, Pansa, where Ventidius is, whose friend I always was till he became so openly the enemy of the state and all good men. But I might avoid the Cassian, and take the Flaminian road. What if Ventidius has gone to Ancona, as is reported? Shall I be able, then, to reach Ariminum in safety? The Aurelian road remains. Here, indeed, I actually have a guard awaiting me, for on this road lie the estates of Publius Clodius. The whole household will turn out to meet me, offering me hospitality, in consideration of our well-known friendship.

10. Am I to face the dangers of these roads, who on the 23rd of last month, at the Festival of the Terminalia, did not venture into the suburbs to return the same day? I can scarcely defend myself within the walls of my own house without the protection of my friends. And so I remain, and if allowed I will remain at Rome.

This is my station, this my post for watching and keeping guard, this my permanent quarters. Let others occupy the camp, fight in the field, and hate the foe—the rest is nothing without this—I, as I say, as I have always done, will guard this city and its interests side by side with you. Not that I refuse this office, though I see that the Roman people refuses it on my behalf. No one is less timid than I am, but no one is more cautious. The matter speaks for itself. For twenty years all the reprobates have been attacking me and me alone. And therefore they have paid the penalty of their own crimes, I will not say to me, but to the state. I see the republic has, as yet, preserved its safety for itself. I speak with some hesitation: I know that man is liable to any accidents, yet once, when I was beset by a picked band of the most powerful men, I felt like a skilful combatant that I might rise again with glory. Can I then be thought to exercise sufficient caution, or sufficient vigilance, if I venture on a road so beset with danger and so full of enemies. Those who take part in public life ought to leave behind them an honourable reputation in their death, and not an excuse for finding fault with their errors and blaming their want of sense. What good man does not mourn over the death of Trebonius? Who does not grieve for the loss of such a citizen and such a man? But there are some who say, unfeelingly enough, but yet they say it, that we should grieve the less because he was not sufficiently on his guard against an infamous profligate. For wise men say that he who professes to protect others ought first to protect his own life. While you are fenced round by the laws, and the awe inspired by the courts of justice, you ought not to be afraid of everything, or seek for protection against all sorts of plots. For who would dare to attack a man in broad daylight, or on a military road, especially if he were a man of distinction, with a numerous following? But these considerations do not apply, either at this time or in my case: for the man who made an attack on me, so far from fearing punishment, will even look for honour and rewards from such a herd of ruffians.

11. All this I can guard against in the city, where it is easy to look around me, and see where I am coming out from, and where I am going to, and what is on my right hand, and what is on my left. Shall I be able to do as much in the narrow pathways of the Apennines? There, if there are no ambushes, as there may very easily be, yet my mind will be full of anxiety, so that I can pay no attention to the duties of the embassy. Suppose me to have escaped all ambuscades, and made my way across the Apennines: then I suppose we must seek an interview and conference with Antonius. What place are we to choose for it? If outside the camp, let the others look to themselves; to me, I am convinced, it will mean instant death. I know the frenzy of the man. I know his unbridled violence. Considering that the bitterness of his character and the ferocity of his nature habitually resist the softening influence of wine, I feel sure that he will never keep his traitorous and sacrilegious hands from me, when he is inflamed by wrath and madness, and in the company of that most savage beast, his brother Lucius. I can remember conferences both with the most exasperated enemies and with citizens of most antagonistic views. Gnaeus Pompeius, the son of Sextus, held a conference in my presence, when I was serving my first campaign in his army, with Publius Vettius Scato, the general of the Marsi, between the two camps. And to this meeting I remember that Sextus Pompeius himself, the brother of the consul, a wise and learned man, came from Rome to take part in the conference. Scato, after saluting him, said, 'What am I to call you?' 'In will,' he said, 'a friend, by the imperious force of circumstances, an enemy.' That conference was marked by mutual generosity; no fear entered into it, no suspicion: even hatred only in a moderate degree. For the allies were not seeking to deprive us of our privileges as citizens of Rome, but to be admitted to a share in them themselves. Sulla and Scipio, one with the flower of our nobility, the other with those who had shared the dangers of his campaign, entered into negotiations between Cales and

Teanum, about the authority of the senate, the votes of the people, the right of citizenship, and came to terms with one another. The resolutions were not adhered to with entire good faith, but they were agreed upon without violence or peril.

Can we then feel the same security in the ruffian band of Antonius? It is not possible: or if the others can, I fear that I cannot. But if we are not to meet outside the camp, which camp shall be selected for the conference? He will never come into ours: much less will we go into his. It remains that our demands should be received and answered by letters: so we shall be each in his own camp. My view, indeed, will be the same whatever he demands; and when I have declared this here in your presence, you may look on me as having gone and returned again: I shall have accomplished the purpose of my mission. Whatever Antonius demands, my vote will be for referring everything to the senate. For in fact no other course is lawful, nor has any such power been given us by the senate as is commonly given to ten plenipotentiaries by the custom of our ancestors on the completion of a war, nor have we received from the senate any commission enabling us to act. And as this will be my course in carrying out our mission, in accordance, I believe, with general consent, may we not fear that the inexperienced crowd of soldiers will consider it my fault that the chances are deferred of peace? Suppose that the new legions do not disapprove my policy: the Martian and fourth legions, which think of nothing but honour and glory, I feel certain will approve of it. Have we no cause of apprehension? fear of them they would disclaim themselves: but have we no ground for apprehension as to how the veterans will take my rigour? for they have heard much that is false of me, on the testimony of unscrupulous men. I, as you yourselves can best bear witness, have always supported their interests by my vote, by my influence, by my language; but they believe unscrupulous and seditious men, they believe their own party. They are brave indeed, but, recollecting their exploits on behalf of

12.

the freedom of the Roman people, and the safety of the state, they are too fierce, and too apt to determine all our counsels by reference to their own violence. I feel no apprehension of their thoughts, if they would only think, but I dread the fury of their impulse. If I escape all these dangers too, do you think I shall have sufficiently secured my safe return? For when I have both maintained your authority according to my wont, and have shown my unswerving loyalty to the republic, then I shall have to fear not only those who hate me, but also those who envy me. Let my life, then, be protected for the service of the state; and let it be preserved to my country so long as my honour or the course of nature shall permit: may death come on me either in accordance with Fate's irresistible decree, or, if I must needs encounter it before, may I encounter it with glory! This being so, although the republic, to use the mildest expression, does not need this embassy, yet, if I can go with safety, I will go. At any rate, my lords, I will estimate the whole policy of this proposal, not by its danger to myself, but by what is expedient for the state. And on this, since time is not pressing, I think I am bound, again and again, to deliberate most carefully, and I consider that I should choose that course in preference which I shall judge to be most for the interests of the republic.

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE THIRTEENTH ORATION.



ABOUT the middle of March despatches arrived from Lucius Plancus, the governor of Transalpine Gaul, and Marcus Lepidus, the governor of Hither Spain. They both declared their loyalty to the senate, but both recommended peace to be made with Antonius.

In answer to these despatches votes of thanks to both governors were proposed in the senate. That to Lucius Plancus was made by Cicero, who delivered two speeches on the occasion, both of which are lost. The next day Publius Servilius moved the vote in favour of Marcus Lepidus, and in support of it Cicero delivered the thirteenth oration, in which he strongly deprecates any peace with Antonius.



THE THIRTEENTH ORATION.

FROM the very beginning of the war, my lords, which 1
we have undertaken against disloyal and accursed citizens, I have been afraid lest insidious negotiations for peace should extinguish our zeal for the recovery of liberty. For the very name of peace is sweet, its reality not only pleasing but beneficial. For it appears to me that a man who delights in discord, and massacres of citizens, and civil war, has no regard either for the home of his family, or the laws of his country, or the rights which liberty conveys. Such a man, I think, should be struck off the catalogue of men, and put outside the pale of civilization. Therefore, whether it be Sulla or Marius, or both of them, or Octavius, or Cinna, or Sulla again, or the younger Marius and Carbo, or any other citizen who has wished for civil war, my judgment is, that from his birth he was a citizen to be detested by the state. For why should I speak of our latest experience, in the man whose acts we defend, while we confess that he was justly slain? There is, therefore, nothing fouler than Antonius, whether as citizen or as man, if indeed you can look on one who desires civil war as either citizen or man. But this we must consider first, my lords, whether peace is possible with everyone, or whether there is a kind of war which admits of no reconciliation, in which to treat of peace is but to sanction slavery by law. When Sulla was negotiating peace with Scipio, whether it was a reality or a mere pretence, there was no ground for despairing

of a tolerable settlement in the state, if they had come to terms. If Cinna had wished to establish harmonious relations with Octavius, men might have continued in a healthy state within the commonwealth. In the more recent war, if Pompeius would have abated somewhat of his inflexible consistency, or if Cæsar would have given up a good deal of his personal ambition, we might have had a stable peace, and something left of a republic.

2. But what is the present state of things? Can there be peace with the Antonii? with Censorinus, Ventidius, Trebellius, Bestia, Nucula, Munatius, Lento, Saxa? I have named a few as specimens; you yourselves can see the countless number and savage cruelty of the rest. Add to these the wrecks of Cæsar's friends, the Barbæ Cassii, the Barbatii, the Pollios; add the companions of Antonius in revelry and gambling, Eutrapelus, Mela, Coelius, Crassicius, Tiro, Mustela, Petissius. I pass over their following, I name the leaders only. To these we must add the Alauda legion, and the rest of the veterans, a nursery for jurymen of the third decuria, who having exhausted their own property, and devoured all that Cæsar gave them, have fixed their affections upon our fortunes. O, trusty right hand of Antonius, with which he butchered so many citizens! O, duly ratified and consecrated treaty which we shall make with the Antonii! If Marcus shall endeavour to violate its terms, the piety of Lucius will call him back from such a crime. If there is to be room for men like these within the city walls, there will be no room for the city itself. Place before your eyes their faces, especially those of the Antonii. Imagine their gait, their look, their countenance, their mien; their friends, some walking by their side, and others in advance. What fumes of wine, what insulting and threatening language, think you, will proceed from them? Unless, perhaps, the very existence of peace may soften them, and unless in particular we find that when they come into this House, they salute each one of us with courtesy, and address us in friendly terms.

3.

But do you not remember what resolutions you have passed against them? You have rescinded the acts of Marcus Antonius, you have repealed his laws, you have decided that they were passed in violent defiance of all the auspices, you have stirred up levies throughout Italy, you have pronounced his colleague and the partner of all his crimes to be a public enemy. What peace can there be with him? If he were a foreign foe, it would be barely possible after such a mode of treating him, but yet a means of granting peace might conceivably be found. Seas, mountains, vast tracts of country, would be between you. You might be content with hating one who was removed from sight. These men will haunt your eyes, and, when occasion offers, will fasten on your throat; for what fences can we raise that will be strong enough to keep within their bounds such savage beasts? But, you will say, the issues of war are uncertain. It is at any time the duty of brave men, such as Roman senators ought to be, to exhibit the courage of men,—that at least is in your power,—and not to be too much afraid of the caprice of fortune. But since not only courage but also wisdom is required from this House, although it scarcely seems that these can possibly exist apart, but let us suppose it possible;—courage bids us fight, it inflames our righteous hatred, it urges us to the conflict, it summons us to danger. What says wisdom? She uses more prudent counsels, she looks to the future, she is in all ways more reserved. What, then, is her opinion? for we must obey, we must consider best what is decided in the closest accordance with what she would say. If she says this, that I am not to think anything more important than my life, that I am not to fight at the peril of my life, that I am to avoid all serious danger, I will ask her, ‘Am I really to do this, if slavery should follow as a necessary consequence?’ If she say ‘Yes,’ I will not hearken to your wisdom, however learned she may be. But if she replies, ‘I bid you guard your life and person, your fortune, your private property, so far as is consistent

with a preference for liberty; and I would have you enjoy them so far as you can without betraying the liberty of the state, that you may be found not to sacrifice liberty for these, but to surrender these in defence of liberty, feeling that if retained they will but guarantee your wrong,' then I should seem to hear the voice of wisdom, and would obey it as a god. Therefore, if with these men home again we can still be free, let us overcome our hatred and be reconciled to peace; but if tranquillity is impossible while they are safe, let us rejoice that an opportunity is given us of fighting them. For either their death will secure our enjoyment of a victorious republic, or if we are crushed, which Jupiter forbend, we shall live, though we be dead, in the fame of our patriotism.

4. But it will be said that Marcus Lepidus, twice imperator, pontifex maximus, who did good service to the state in the recent civil war, exhorts us to make peace. There is no one, my lords, whose authority I value higher than that of Marcus Lepidus, whether on account of his own excellence or because of the honour of his family. To this should be added many occasions on which he has in private earned my gratitude, some few where I have been able to serve him. But I count it his greatest service, that he entertains these feelings towards the state, which to me have always been dearer than my life. For when Pompeius Magnus, a noble youth, and son of a most distinguished father, was induced by his influence to make peace, so as to free the state from the urgent peril of civil war without recourse to arms, I consider that he laid me under a greater obligation than any single man could be expected to confer. And accordingly I proposed on his behalf, and you agreed to grant, the highest distinctions which were open to him, and I have never ceased to express and feel most confident hopes of his continued loyalty. The republic holds Marcus Lepidus bound to her by many heavy pledges. He is of most noble birth, he has filled all the offices of state, he holds the most distinguished priesthood, he has built many splendid buildings in the city,
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besides the monuments of his brother and his ancestors, he has the most excellent of wives, children who are all he could desire, private property both ample in itself and free from the stains of any citizen's blood. No citizen has received injury from him; many have been set free by his liberality and kindness. Such a man and such a citizen may be mistaken in his views, he cannot under any circumstances be willingly at variance with the state. Marcus Lepidus desires peace. It is well, if such a peace can be secured as he has lately made, through which the state will once more see the son of Gnæus Pompeius, and be able to embrace him, and will suppose that she has not only recovered him, but her own self as well. This was the reason why you voted him a statue on the rostra with an honourable inscription, and granted him a triumph in his absence. For although his deeds in war were mighty and deserving of a triumph, yet that did not justify your granting him what was not granted either to Lucius Æmilius or Scipio Æmilianus, or the elder Africanus, or Marius, or Pompeius, all of whom had commanded in greater wars; but because he had brought a civil war to an end without disturbance, you conferred on him the highest honours which you could.

Do you think, then, Marcus Lepidus, that the state will have in the Antonii such citizens as she is likely to find in Pompeius? In the one there is modesty, solidity of character, moderation, uprightness; in the others—and in formally arraigning these, I do not fail to think of everyone of their ruffianly crew—in the others, I say, you find lust, and crimes, and audacity wild enough for any deed of wickedness. In the next place I beg you to consider, my lords, which of you can fail to see this, which Fortune herself has seen, who is reported to be blind. For so long as the acts of Cæsar stand, which we have maintained for the sake of peace, Pompeius will find his own house open to him, and will redeem it for a sum not less than that which Antonius gave for it; the house, I say, of Gnæus Pompeius will be redeemed by his son. A

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crime, except of withdrawing you from the destruction which you merited on the Ides of March? Well, you rejoice at this. Let us see what gives you pain.

‘We cannot help lamenting that Dolabella should at this crisis have been pronounced an enemy of his country, for killing an assassin—that the Roman people should seem to love the son of a buffoon more dearly than Gaius Cæsar, the parent of his country.’

Why lament that Dolabella is declared an enemy? Do you not rather comprehend that by the levies throughout Italy, by the mission of the consuls, by the honours granted to Cæsar, by the adoption finally of the garb of war, you yourself have been declared an enemy? What reason is there, wretched man, why you should grieve that Dolabella has been pronounced an enemy by the senate, seeing that you hold this House as naught, and are waging war with the express object of utterly destroying the senate, and of making all other loyal citizens and all rich men share in the downfall of the highest order in the state? But he calls Trebonius the son of a buffoon, as though we had never heard of that distinguished Roman knight, the father of Trebonius. And does he dare to despise the lowly birth of anyone who has had children by a Fadia?

11. ‘But the bitterest thing of all is that you, Aulus Hirtius, after being distinguished by the favours of Cæsar, and left by him in a position such as cannot but surprise yourself’—

I cannot, indeed, deny that Hirtius received distinctions at Cæsar’s hands; but such distinctions gain new brilliancy when bestowed on energy and valour. But you, who cannot deny that you have received distinctions from the same Cæsar, what would you be, if he had not bestowed so much upon you? Would your valour, your family, have gained you any promotion? You would have consumed all your time in brothels and taverns, in gambling and drinking, as you did when you used to bury your beard and brains in the lap of mimic actresses.

‘And you, O boy—’

He calls him a boy, whom he has felt and will feel to be not only a man, but a man of more than ordinary bravery. Boy is the name, indeed, belonging to his age; but the last who should employ it is he whose madness furnishes this boy with materials for glory.

‘That you, who owe everything to the name of Cæsar—’

Aye, he owes it, and nobly does he pay the debt. For if Cæsar were the parent of his country, to use the name you give him—I will reserve my opinion of its fitness—why is not he with greater truth her parent, to whom we certainly owe our lives, which he has rescued out of your most guilty hands?

‘That you should endeavour to make out that Dolabella has been legally condemned.’

A truly shameful action, by which the authority of the noblest order in the state is maintained against the madness of a most cruel gladiator.

‘And that this she-poisoner should be freed from siege.’

Do you dare to call that man a she-poisoner who has found a remedy for your poisonings? whom you are besieging in such a fashion, you new Hannibal (if that name denotes the ablest general known), that you are really besieging yourself, and cannot extricate yourself if you desired it? Suppose you retire, you will be followed on all sides: if you remain where you are you will be in a trap. Truly, you do well to call him a she-poisoner, when you see that he has contrived the present plight in which you are.

‘That Cassius and Brutus should be rendered as powerful as possible.’

One would suppose he said Censorinus or Ventidius, or the Antonii themselves. Why should they be unwilling that power should be given to men who are not only of tried loyalty and unquestioned nobleness of birth, but also united with themselves for the defence of the republic?

‘Truly you look on these things in the

same spirit in which formerly' (when was that, I wonder?) 'you used to give the name of senate to the camp of Pompeius.'

12. Should we rather give your camp the name? You are there the only consular, you, whose whole consulship has been blotted out of all the records in the state. There are two prætors, who were doubtful whether they would have any spoil, without good ground, since we uphold the acts of Cæsar: as former prætors, Philadelphus Annius and the innocent Gallius; as former ædiles, Bestia, that practising ground of my lungs and voice, and Trebellius, the patron of credit and swindler of his creditors, and the ruptured and ruined Quintus Cælius, and that pillar of the friends of Antonius, Cotyla Varius, whom Antonius, by way of amusement, ordered to be whipped at a banquet by the public slaves; to represent the septemvirate we have Lento and Nucula, not to mention the pet and favourite of the Roman people, Lucius Antonius; as tribunes there are first two of the ensuing year, Tullus Hostilius, who with good right wrote his name upon the gate by which he fled when he failed to betray his general, and one Insteius, a bold ruffian, as they say, though rumour says that at Pisaurum he confined himself strictly to water—for the service of the baths. Then there are others who have been tribunes already: Titus Plancus, to begin with, who never would have burned the senate-house if he had loved the senate. He was condemned for the offence, but returned by force of arms into the city whence the laws had driven him out. But this he has in common with many of his class. What surprises me is this. It has become a proverb in the case of Plancus that he could not die unless his legs were broken. But now they have been broken, and he yet survives. For this, however, as for many other services, we have Aquila to thank.

13. There is also Decius there, of the family, I suppose, of the Decii Mures, and so, in virtue of his name, he nibbled at the gifts of Cæsar. The memory of the Decii, indeed, is renewed amongst us after a long interval in

this illustrious man. But how can I pass over Saxa Decidius, a man sprung from the furthest nations of the earth, so that we find a tribune of the commons whom we have never known as a citizen. There is one of the Sasernæ, but they are all so much alike that I get confused in their first names. Nor again must I pass over Extitius, the cousin of Philadelphus, lest if I omit to mention such a noble youth I should seem to have envied Antonius his presence. There is also a man named Asinius, a volunteer senator, chosen to the office by himself. He saw the senate-house open after Cæsar's death; he donned the senator's shoe, and in a trice became a senator on the new list. Sextus Albesius I do not know, but I never met with anyone who was so uncharitable as to deny that he was worthy of a place in the senate of Antonius. I think that I have forgotten some; but I could not refrain from mentioning those whose names occurred to me. This, then, is the senate, on the strength of which he despises that of Pompeius, in which there were ten of us who were consulars. If all of them had been alive, we should not have had the present war at all: the aggressiveness of Antonius would have yielded to their influence. But you may gather what amount of protection the others would have afforded from the fact that I, when left alone of all the number, have crushed and broken, with your aid, the audacity of the triumphant brigand.

But if Fortune had not recently snatched from us Servius Sulpicius, and his colleague, Marcus Marcellus, not long before, so excellent both of them, whether as citizens or as men; if the republic had been able to retain the two consuls, ardent lovers of their country, who were banished from Italy together, or Lucius Afranius, that consummate general, or Publius Lentulus, a citizen of rare excellence in other things, but especially in securing my return from banishment, or Marcus Bibulus, whose persistent loyalty has ever won deserved praise, or Lucius Domitius, that distinguished citizen, or Appius Claudius, pre-eminent alike in birth and disposition, or Publius Scipio, a man who followed closely

14.

the noble example of his ancestors; if these had been alive to represent the consulars, the senate of Pompeius could scarcely be despised. Which, then, was fairer, which was better for the state? that Gnæus Pompeius should live, or Antonius, who purchased Pompeius' confiscated goods? But who were the ex-prætors, of whom the first was Marcus Cato, confessedly the first in virtue among all the nations of the world? Why should I mention all the other illustrious names? You know them all. I am rather afraid that you should think my catalogue too long, that you should deem my heart ungrateful if I pass them by in silence. What men were there who had been ædiles, or tribunes, or quæstors? What need of many words? The dignity and the multitude of the senators was such as to make it very necessary for those who were not in that camp to find some valid reason for their absence. Now listen to the remainder of the letter.

15. 'You have the vanquished Cicero for your general.'

I am the more glad to hear the word 'general,' because I am sure that he utters it unwillingly. The epithet 'vanquished' does not trouble me; for it is my fate not to be able either to conquer or to be conquered except in conjunction with the republic.

'You are garrisoning Macedonia.'

Yes; and we wrested it from your brother, who is a worthy member of the family.

'You have entrusted Africa to Varus, who has twice been prisoner.'

Here he thinks that he is debating with his brother Gaius.

'You have sent Cassius into Syria.'

Do you not then perceive that the whole world is open to our cause, whereas you have nowhere to plant your feet outside the line of your entrenchments.

'You have allowed Casca to discharge the duties of a tribune.'

What then? were we to exclude from public life, like Marullus or Cæsetius, the man to whom we owe it

that neither this same act of tyranny, nor many others like it, can hereafter happen in the state.

‘You have taken away the endowment of the Julian priests from the Luperici.’

Does he dare to make mention of the Luperici? or does he not shudder at the thoughts of the day when naked, smeared with perfumes, and overcome with wine, he had the hardihood, amid their groans, to urge the Roman people to be slaves.

‘You have taken away the colonies of the veterans, planted with the sanction of a law and a decree of the senate.’

Did we take them away? or did we rather ratify a law duly passed at the comitia? Take care, however, lest you be found to have ruined those veterans who had ruined themselves already, and to have brought them into a position from which, by this time, they feel themselves that they will never escape.

‘You are promising to restore to the Massiliots what was taken from them by the rights of war.’

I will not enter on the question of the rights of war—it is a question more easy than needful to discuss: but I will ask you to observe, my lords, the inborn hostility of Antonius to the republic, as shown in his eager hatred of a city which he knows to have been always most friendly to the commonwealth.

‘You say again and again that no surviving member of the Pompeian party is bound by the Hirtian law.’ 16.

Who, if I may ask such a question, ever mentions now the Hirtian law? which I think the proposer regrets as fully as any of those against whom it was directed. In my opinion, indeed, it is wrong to call it law at all, and, supposing it to be a law, we ought not to consider it a law of Hirtius.

‘You furnished Brutus with the money of Apuleius.’

Suppose we did? and if the republic had reinforced Brutus with all the forces it possessed, what good man

among us would repent of it? for he could neither have supported an army without money, nor have taken your brother without an army.

‘You expressed approval of the execution of Petrus and Menedemus, men who had received the franchise, and were friends of Cæsar.’

We expressed no approval of what never even reached our ears: for in the midst of such confusion in the state our thoughts were truly bound to dwell upon a pair of miserable Greeklings.

‘You did not care that Theopompus, when driven out naked by Trebonius, fled for refuge to Alexandria.’

A heavy charge, indeed, against the senate! We did not care about so eminent a man as Theopompus, of whom no one knows or cares either where he is, or what he is doing, or, in short, whether he is alive or dead.

‘You can bear the sight of Servius Galba in the camp, with the identical dagger in his belt.’

I need not answer what you say about Galba, a most brave and loyal citizen: he will be present himself: both he and the dagger you allude to will answer you in person.

‘You have organized an army of either my soldiers or the veterans, as though for the destruction of Cæsar’s murderers: and then when they least expected it you have thrust them forward to endanger their quæstor, or their general, or their fellow-soldiers.’

I suppose we have cozened and deceived them; the Martian legion and the fourth were ignorant of what was being done, the veterans were unaware of it! They were not following the authority of the senate nor the liberty of the people: they wished to avenge the death of Cæsar, which all considered to be a special act of destiny; in other words, they were anxious that you should be safe, and flourishing, and prosperous.

O, wretched man, not only from your position, but because you do not feel how wretched you are! But listen to his heaviest charge.

17.

‘In short, what have you not either sanctioned or actually done of the things which, should he come to life again, would be done?’

By whom? For I suppose that he will mention the name of some scoundrel.

‘By Gnaeus Pompeius himself.’

We are, indeed, disgraced, if we have followed the example set by Gnaeus Pompeius.

‘Or by his son, if it were in his power.’

It will soon be so, I assure you; for in a few days he will enter on possession both of his home and of his father’s villa.

‘Lastly, you say that peace cannot be made, unless I either release Brutus or send him a supply of corn.’

Some put the matter so; but I think that even if you comply with both of these conditions, there will never be peace between you and this state.

‘What? is this the view your veterans take, who have yet to choose their line of action?’

I never saw any line of action so freely open to a body of men as to attack the general whom they have so studiously and so unanimously offended.

‘Since you have set yourselves to corrupt them with your flatteries and poisoned gifts.’¹

Are they corrupted who have been persuaded to pursue a most infamous enemy with a most righteous war?

‘You allege that you are bringing aid to beleaguered soldiers. I do not mind their being safe and going where they will, if only they allow the man to perish who has deserved his fate.’

¹ In the hopeless condition of the existing text, I have translated from Halm’s proposed emendation, “Quoniam vos eos assentationibus et venenatis muneribus venistis depravatum.” *line corrupti sunt?* &c.

How very kind. In short, through the generosity of Antonius the soldiers have deserted their general, and joined the ranks of the enemy in the bewilderment of fear; and these are the men to whom we owe it that Antonius did not offer a victim to the spirit of his colleague as Dolabella made his offering to his general.

‘You write that mention has been made of peace within the senate, and that the envoys are five consulars. It is difficult to believe that those who have driven me forth in headlong flight when I was offering the fairest terms, and even thinking of making further concessions, should do anything that was temperate or humane. It is also scarcely probable that those who have pronounced Dolabella an enemy for a most righteous deed, could show mercy to myself when entertaining the same sentiments.’

Does it seem a little matter that he acknowledges a partnership with Dolabella in all his acts? He himself, in fact, confesses, sagaciously enough, that it is impossible that those who have pronounced Dolabella an enemy for ‘a most righteous deed,’ as it appears to Antonius, should show mercy to himself, who entertains the same sentiments.

8. What should you do with the man who has recorded this in his despatch, that he has made a compact with Dolabella that the latter should slay Trebonius, and if possible Brutus and Cassius, with the most exquisite tortures [whilst he himself should remain in Italy¹], and inflict the same punishment on us. This is, indeed, a citizen to be preserved with so loyal and righteous a treaty! He also complains that his terms have been rejected; such equitable and modest terms! That he should have Further Gaul, a province admirably adapted for renewing and preparing war; that the men of the Alauda legion should form a third panel of jurymen, or,

¹ The words in brackets are supplied as a conjecture to fill up an obvious gap in the MS.

in other words, that there should be a refuge for every sort of crime, to the dire disgrace of the republic; that his own acts should be ratified, when no trace of his consulship is left upon the records. Nor did he forget the interests of Lucius Antonius, who had been so fair an apportioner of private and public land, with Nucula and Lento for his colleagues.

‘Wherefore I would ask you rather to consider which is in better taste and more advantageous for your party, to avenge the death of Caesar or of Trebonius; and which is more reasonable, that we should meet in battle, that the cause of the Pompeian party, already so often annihilated, may be brought to life again, or that we should come to terms, that we may not be a laughing stock to our foes.’

If it had been annihilated, it could never rise again; which I wish might be the case with you and yours! ‘Which,’ he says, ‘is in better taste?’ and so in this war the question is one of taste! ‘and more advantageous for your party?’ Party, you madman, is a term of the Forum and the Senate House. It is war, infamous war, that you have engaged in against your country. You blockade Mutina; you besiege the consul-elect; two consuls are conducting the war against you, with the aid of the pro-prætor Cæsar; all Italy is in arms against you. Do you talk of your party rather than of a revolt from the people of Rome? ‘To avenge the death of Trebonius or of Cæsar.’ That of Trebonius we have avenged sufficiently, by declaring Dolabella a public enemy. Cæsar’s death is most easily defended by letting it sink unmentioned into oblivion. But see what he is planning. When he thinks that revenge is due for the death of Cæsar, he proposes to put to death not only the perpetrators of the deed, but any who were not offended by it.

‘For our enemies will profit, whichever side is beaten. This sight Fortune herself has avoided, that she might not see two armies

19.

belonging to the same body fighting with Cicero as training master; who is so far fortunate as to have deceived you with the same flowers of rhetoric with which he boasted that Cæsar was deceived.'

He passes to abuse of me, just as though all his former taunts had met with eminent success; but I will hand down his name to the most remote posterity impressed with truest brands of infamy. 'I a training master!' And, indeed, I show my skill therein; for I desire the worst of my band to be butchered, the better men to gain the victory. 'Whichever side is beaten,' he writes, 'the profit will be ours.' A noble profit indeed! whereby, if you gain the day, which Heaven forbid, they will gain a happy death who quit this life untortured. He says that Hirtius and Cæsar 'have been deceived by the same flowers of rhetoric' on my part. What flowers of rhetoric, I pray, have I as yet expended upon Hirtius? For many more solid compliments are still due to Cæsar. But can it be the elder Cæsar whom you dare to say that I have deceived? 'Twas you, yes, you, I say, who dealt him the fatal blow at the festival of the Lupercalia; and at the present moment, most ungrateful man, why have you deserted the office of his priest? But see now the marvellous solidity and firmness of character in this great and noble man.

'I am determined to endure no insults either to myself or to my friends, and not to desert the party which Pompeius hated, nor to allow the veterans to be disturbed in their allotments or to be dragged off one by one to the rack; nor to be false to the faith which I have pledged to Dolabella.'

I leave the rest alone; this trusty man cannot be false to his plighted troth to Dolabella, that holiest of men. What troth? That involving the murder of all the best men, the partition of Rome and Italy, the devastation and plunder of the provinces? For what else is there which could be the subject of troth and

faith between such profligate murderers as Antonius and Dolabella?

‘Nor to violate my league with Lepidus, the loyalest of men.’

You in league with Lepidus, or any other,—I will not say good citizen, such as he is,—but with any sane man! One would suppose from your line of argument that you wish Lepidus to be thought either disloyal or insane. You waste your pains—though this is hard to say in the case of any other man—especially when speaking about Lepidus, whom I will never fear, but will have hopes of him as long as he allows me. Lepidus desired to recall you from your frenzy, not to be the accomplice of your madness. Moreover, you are not content with your friends being loyal, but they must be ‘loyalest,’ and to express this superhuman loyalty you coin a new word, which has no existence in your native tongue.

‘Nor to betray Plancus, the partner of my policy.’

Plancus your partner? whose memorable and god-like patriotism adds a lustre to the republic,—unless by any chance you think that he is coming to your aid with all his brave legions, and his numerous force of cavalry and infantry from Gaul; and who, unless you have given satisfaction to the state before his coming, will bear off the palm in this war. For although the first succours are the more immediately useful to the state, the last arouse the deeper gratitude.

But now he composes himself, and at the last begins to moralise.

20.

‘If the gods shall help me, as I hope, as I advance with right feelings, I shall be glad to live. If another fate awaits me, I enjoy your punishment in anticipation. For if the party of Pompeius are so insolent when conquered, you will then more certainly experience what they are likely to be as conquerors.’

Enjoy in anticipation by all means; for you are waging war not against the party of Pompeius, but

against the whole republic, gods and men alike, highest, lowest, middle classes in the state, citizens and foreigners, men and women, freemen and slaves detest you, everyone of them. We have felt this lately on a false report of your discomfiture, we shall feel it in a day or two when the true news comes.

‘In short, the sum of my decision comes to this, that I can submit to the wrongs which I have suffered from my friends, if they should be willing to forget that they have done the wrongs, or are prepared at once to join us in avenging Cæsar’s death.’

When this resolution of Antonius is known, do you think that the consuls, Aulus Hirtius and Gaius Pansa, will either of them hesitate to leave us for the camp of Antonius, to besiege Brutus, to long for the blockade of Mutina? Why do I speak of Hirtius and Pansa? Will Cæsar, a youth of singular affection, be able to restrain himself from avenging his father’s death in the blood of Decimus Brutus? And so, on reading this despatch, they advanced at once nearer to his entrenchments, whereby Cæsar is seen to be a youth of greater powers, and his birth, for the service of the state, to be a greater proof of the favour of the gods; for he was never led astray by natural affection or any phantom of the name of father; but he is aware that the truest natural affection consists in the preservation of his fatherland. But if it were a contest between parties, whose very name is buried in oblivion, would Antonius and Ventidius be more ready to defend the party of Cæsar than, first of all, the younger Cæsar, a youth of singularly strong affection for the memory of his parent, and then Pansa and Hirtius, who were Cæsar’s main support on either side, at the time when the name of parties was really applicable? But what parties are these, when the one side sets before itself the authority of the senate, the freedom of the Roman people, the safety of the state; the other the massacre of all good men, and the partition of Rome and Italy?

21.

Let us come at length to the final paragraph.

‘I do not believe that envoys are coming.’
He knows me well.

‘Into the neighbourhood of the war.’¹

Especially when we have before us the example of Dolabella. The rights of the envoys, I suppose, will be more sacredly respected than those of the two consuls, against whom he is in arms, or of Cæsar, whose father’s priest he is, or of the consul-elect, whom he is besieging, or of Mutina, which he is blockading, or of his country, which he threatens with fire and sword.

‘When they arrive, I shall learn their demands.’

Rack and murrain seize you! Would anyone come to you, except one like Ventidius? We sent men of the highest position to quench the rising conflagration; you would not receive them. Then, are we to send them now, when the fire has gained such force from lapse of time, that you have left yourself no room—I do not say for peace—but even for capitulation?

I have read this letter, my lords, not because I thought the writer worthy of the honour, but that you might see all his treasons laid bare by his own pen. If Marcus Lepidus, who is so richly gifted with all that virtue or fortune can bestow, were to see what it contains, would he either wish for peace with Antonius, or believe it possible? ‘Sooner fire mix with water,’ as some poet says; sooner anything than reconciliation, either of the state to the Antonii or of the Antonii to the state. Either would be monstrous, and fraught with evil portent to the commonwealth. Better were it for this city to be moved from its foundations, and transplanted, were that possible, to a foreign land, where it should hear neither the deeds nor the name of the Antonii, than that it should see them, after Cæsar’s valour has expelled them, after Brutus has detained them, entering again within these walls. Our first choice would be victory; the second is to think no calamity unbearable in the cause of our country’s liberty and

¹ From Orelli’s conjectural emendation of a hopelessly corrupt passage, ‘Bellum quo veniat.’

honour. What is left is not the third, but last of all, to submit through love of life to the deepest degradation. This being so, on the question of the requirements and letter of Marcus Lepidus, that most distinguished man, I vote with Servilius, and I move as a rider that Magnus Pompeius, the son of Gnæus, has acted in accordance with the disposition and patriotic zeal of his father and his ancestors, and, as might have been expected, from his own long-tried virtue and energy and loyalty, in that he has promised to the senate and the Roman people the assistance of himself and the forces under his command; and that this conduct is pleasing and acceptable to the senate and the Roman people, and shall lead to honour and distinction on his behalf. This may either be appended to the decree of the senate now before us, or proposed as an independent motion, that the praises of Pompeius may appear in a resolution of their own.

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE FOURTEENTH ORATION.



ON April 15 a battle was fought within eight miles of Mutina, between Pansa and Antonius, in which the former gained a decided victory, but was himself mortally wounded. When the news of this victory reached Rome, Publius Servilius proposed in the senate that the citizens should lay aside the military garb, and that a public thanksgiving should be solemnised in honour of the victory. On this Cicero delivered the fourteenth oration, in which, while he urges that no change of dress would be appropriate till Mutina should be relieved, he not only supports the motion for a public thanksgiving, but proposes its extension for the unprecedented period of fifty days.

The conclusion of his speech is in effect a funeral oration in eloquent terms over those who had fallen in the battle on the side of loyalty.



THE FOURTEENTH ORATION.

1. If the despatch which has just been read, my lords, in addition to the news that the army of our infamous enemies had been routed with great loss, had also told us that we had attained what all of us so ardently desire, the necessary consequence, as we believe, of the victory achieved, and that Decimus Brutus had come already safely out of Mutina, in that case I should have no hesitation in proposing that, as we donned the garb of war because of his peril, so we should return to our former costume on hearing that he was safe. But till that news be brought us, which the state is looking for with such eagerness, it is sufficient to take part in the rejoicing for so important and so splendid a battle. It will be time to assume the garb of peace when the victory is complete, and the completion of this war is the safety of Decimus Brutus. But what can be the meaning of the proposal that our dress should be changed just for to-day, and that to-morrow we should issue forth again in the garb of war? Rather when we have once returned to the dress for which we long so eagerly, let us do our best to keep it for ever. For, indeed, it would be both disgraceful and displeasing to the gods to leave the altars which we had approached as citizens in the toga, in order straightway to re-assume the soldier's dress. And I observe, my lords, that some are in favour of this proposal, their idea and design being this: Seeing that it will be a very glorious day for Decimus Brutus, when we dress again in peaceful attire in honour of his safety, they desire to deprive

him of this distinction, that it may not be recorded for the benefit of posterity that the Roman people assumed the garb of war because of one man's danger, and that when his safety was secured, they re-assumed the gowns of peace. Away with such a proposal! You will find no pretext for so base a motion. But do you, my lords, preserve your authority; abide by your resolution; keep steadily before you what you have often made manifest, that the whole importance of this war centres in the life of one most gallant and most powerful man.

2. To effect the release of Decimus Brutus, leading men in the state were sent as envoys, to warn that traitor and murderer to depart from Mutina. In order to rescue the same Decimus Brutus, Aulus Hirtius, the consul, was chosen by lot to take charge of the war, his courageous spirit and the hope of victory giving such strength to his enfeebled frame as enabled him to go; while Cæsar, having used the army which he raised himself to free the state from the first outbreak of treason, being eager to prevent any further crime, set forth with the same object of releasing Decimus Brutus, his patriotism overcoming what natural affection lingered in his breast. What was the meaning of what Gaius Pansa did in raising levies, in collecting money, in proposing the most severe measures against Antonius in this House, in rousing our enthusiasm, in summoning the people of Rome to the cause of liberty, except to promote the release of Decimus Brutus? And, indeed, the Roman people, in a full assembly, were so urgent in demanding the rescue of Decimus Brutus with one voice, that they preferred it to any considerations, not only of their own convenience, but of procuring the necessities of life. This end, my lords, we ought to hope is either on the point of being gained, or perhaps already brought about; but we are bound to reserve the fruition of our hopes till the issue has been actually achieved, lest we should seem in our folly either to have forestalled the favour of the gods, or to have despised the influence of fortune. But since

you show plainly enough by your gestures what you think about the matter, I will come to the despatch which you have received from the consuls and the pro-prætor, if I may be pardoned for first saying a few words about the despatch itself.

The swords of our legions and armies have been dipped, my lords, or rather, steeped in blood in the two battles fought by the consuls, and in a third under the command of Cæsar. If that was the blood of enemies, the soldiers showed most loyal devotion; if of citizens, it was an infamous crime. How long, therefore, will the man who has surpassed all enemies in wickedness be without the name of enemy—unless, indeed, you wish the swords of our soldiers to tremble in their doubt whether they are wounding a citizen or an enemy? You decree a thansgiving for his defeat; you will not call him ‘enemy.’ Truly will our congratulations, our victims, be pleasing to the gods, when the multitude of the slain are citizens! ‘The victory,’ says my noble friend, ‘is over infamous and unscrupulous men,’ for this is his description of them. But these are the epithets which we use in lawsuits among ourselves, not the stigmas which we brand upon our enemies in internecine war. They are exhibiting counterfeit wills, I suppose, or turning their neighbours out of doors, or swindling young men; for it is men who are guilty of offences such as these that custom warrants us in calling wicked or unscrupulous. The most savage of all brigands is waging a war which nothing can atone for against four consuls; he is carrying on war against the senate and the people of Rome; he is denouncing pestilence, and rapine, and all kinds of torture against all of us; though certain to perish in the ruins of his own massacres, he bears witness that the brutal and savage crime of Dolabella, which no barbarous nation would acknowledge, owes its origin to him; he has shown in the disaster at Parma what he would have tried to do in Rome, had not Jupiter himself, whom we see before us, driven him from this temple and these walls. At Parma, most excellent and honourable men, bound by

3.

the closest ties of loyalty to support the authority of this House, and the honour of the Roman people, were slain in most cruel fashion by that prodigy of villainess, Lucius Antonius, the mark for the utter detestation of mankind, and of the gods as well, if heaven's hatred falls where it ought. My mind recoils, my lords, and shrinks from uttering what Lucius Antonius has done with the wives and children of the citizens of Parma. For the infamies which the Antonii endured with pleasure to their own disgrace, they rejoice to have inflicted with violence upon others. But the violence which they have offered them is disastrous. The lust which stains the life of the Antonii is of the deepest dye.

4. Is there anyone who shrinks from calling them enemies, while confessing that the cruelty of the Carthaginians pales before their wickedness? What city did Hannibal treat with such brutality as Antonius showed in Parma, which he surprised? Unless, indeed, you think that he is not an enemy to this colony, or the others towards which he showed a similar animosity. But if he is beyond all doubt the enemy of the colonies and borough towns, what can you consider to be his relation towards this city, which he has worsted that he may satisfy the needs of his banditti? which Saxa, his skilled and cunning surveyor, had already apportioned with his ten-foot rule. Remember, in Heaven's name, my lords, what terrors we have suffered in the last two days, from rumours unscrupulously spread abroad by enemies within the walls. Who could look, without tears, upon his children or his wife? upon his home? or on his household gods? We were all thinking either of most ignominious death or of a wretched flight. Do we hesitate to call those enemies who aroused such terror in our hearts? If anyone will give me a stronger name, I will gladly agree with him. I am scarcely content with the ordinary word, I will not use a weaker one.

Since, then, in accordance with the despatch which has been read, we are bound to vote for a solemn

thanksgiving, which has been most justly earned, and since Servilius has made a proposal to this effect, I will move, at any rate, to increase the number of days, especially as the solemnity is in honour not of one general but of three. But what I will do first is to give the title of 'Imperator' to the men to whose prowess and skill and good fortune we owe our deliverance from the greatest dangers of slavery and death. Indeed, who is there in whose honour a thanksgiving has been decreed within the last twenty years, without his being also denominated imperator, though his exploits had been very trifling, or even none at all. Wherefore, the senator who spoke before me should either have proposed no thanksgiving at all, or have granted the tribute of a customary and established distinction to the men to whom even new and extraordinary honours are so justly due.

If, when anyone has killed a thousand or two of Spaniards, or Gauls, or Thracians, the senate, in accordance with the custom which has become prevalent, would style him imperator; shall we deny the title to our noble generals, to whom we give the honour of a public thanksgiving, when they have slain so many legions, such a multitude of,—shall I venture on the word,—yes, of enemies, however unwilling our enemies at home may be to hear the name? For with what honour, with what joy, amid what congratulations ought those saviours of our city themselves to enter this temple, when we think that yesterday, on hearing of their exploits, the people of Rome escorted me from home to the Capitol, and back again to my house, if not in formal triumph, at least with the lesser honours of an ovation. For, in my opinion, the only true and general triumph is when public testimony is borne to a great national service by the general voice of the state. For if amid general rejoicing of the Roman people an individual receives congratulations, it is a weighty tribute to his merit, if he receives their thanks, it is a weightier tribute still, but if they grant him both, no higher distinction can be possibly conceived.

5.

Are you singing your own praises then ? somebody will ask. Very unwillingly I am, but the grief excited by a sense of wrong makes me boastful beyond my wont. Is it not enough that men who are ignorant what virtue means should refuse their meed of thanks to men who have done good service to the state ? Shall the charge of rashness be sought as a means of exciting odium even against those whose whole thoughts are devoted to the safety of the state. For you know that within these last few days it has been commonly rumoured that at the feast of the Parilia, that is to-day, I would descend into the Forum with the ensigns of sovereign power. I should suppose that such a tale was invented against some gladiator or brigand, or some Catiline, not against a man who has made anything of the sort impossible in the state. Is it credible that I, who, when Catiline had some such plot in hand, removed him, overthrew him, crushed him, should suddenly come forth myself as a second Catiline ? Under what auspices should I as augur receive those ensigns of despotic power ? How long should I hold them ? To whom should I transfer them ? To think that anyone should have been so wicked as to make up such a story, or so mad as to believe it ! What, then, is the source of this suspicion, or rather of this rumour ?

6. When, as you know, some three or four days since, a report was prevalent of bad news from Mutina, the disloyal citizens, puffed up with joy and insolence, assembled together, choosing for their place of meeting that hall which is disastrous rather for their party than for the state. There, as they were devising plans for our assassination, and were dividing the city among themselves, who should seize upon the Capitol, who upon the rostra, who upon the city gates, they thought that the citizens would flock to me for safety. That such a demonstration, therefore, might involve me in unpopularity, or even in danger to my life, they spread abroad the rumour about the fasces, which they themselves proposed to offer me. When this had taken place, apparently with my consent, then arrangements were


made for hired ruffians to attack me as though I were a tyrant, and so the signal would have been given for a general massacre of all of you. The plot was brought to light, my lords, by the course of events, but the origin of all this treason will be disclosed when its hour has come. Accordingly, Publius Apuleius, the tribune of the commons, my witness, partner, and coadjutor in all my schemes and all my dangers, ever since my consulship, could not bear the grief occasioned by my grief; he held a large meeting with the unanimous concurrence of the Roman people. At that meeting he was anxious, in consideration of our long intimacy and close connection with each other, to free me from the suspicion about the fasces, when the whole assembly with one voice declared that I had never entertained a single thought that was otherwise than loyal about the state.

Within two or three hours after this meeting the messengers and despatches arrived, for which we had so eagerly been looking; so that the space of a single day not only set me free from the most unjust unpopularity, but added to my honours by the general congratulations of my fellow-citizens.

I have made this digression, my lords, not so much in self-defence,—for I should be but badly off if I were not sufficiently acquitted in your eyes without an apology of this kind,—as for the purpose of advising certain men of petty and narrow dispositions to follow my example in always thinking the patriotism of exemplary citizens worthy, not of envy, but of imitation. There is a great field for ambition, as Crassus so wisely used to say, a career open for many to win distinction in the state.

I would, indeed, that those leaders in the state were still alive, who, after my consulship, were not unwilling to have me for their leader, whilst I was ready to give way to them. But at the present time, when we have so few brave and steadfast consulars in the midst of us, what do you suppose must be my grief when I see some ill affected, others wholly careless, others, again, wanting perseverance in the cause they have adopted, and guided

in framing their resolutions not always by what is expedient for the state, but sometimes by hope, and at other times by fear? But if anyone is excited by the struggle for the leadership, which ought not to exist at all, he is acting like a fool if he brings vice into competition with virtue; for as speed is beaten by speed, so among brave men virtue alone can win the day from virtue. If I am influenced by loyal sentiments, will you, to overcome me, entertain a traitor's thoughts? Or if you see that good men flock to me, will you invite the company of the reprobate; I should refrain from doing so if I were you, first, for the sake of the republic; and secondly, out of consideration for your honour. But if the leadership of the state were in question, which is a thing that I have never sought, what could more exactly suit my wishes? For by disloyal sentiments I cannot be defeated; to loyal ones I might be forced, and should be willing to give way. Certain persons are annoyed that the Roman people perceive and notice this, and form their judgment in accordance with it. Was it possible that men should fail to form their opinion of each individual in accordance with his merits? For as the Roman people shows the truest judgment in pronouncing that the senate, as a body, was never braver or more staunch than at the present moment, so all are making inquiries about each one of us, and especially about those who speak from this bench, wishing to hear what feelings each has entertained; and so they form such an opinion of each as they think he has deserved. They remember that on December 19 I took the initiative in regaining our liberty; that from January 1 to the present day I have kept watch over the state; that my house and my ears have been open night and day to the warnings and advice of all; that my letters, my messengers, my exhortations have stimulated everyone, wherever he might be, to aid in preserving the state; that my votes since January 1 have ever been against ambassadors to Antonius; that I have ever held him to be an enemy, and this struggle to be a war, so that I, who have always



been an advocate for genuine peace, was hostile to this empty name of fatal peace. And so with Publius Ventidius and Volusenus, whom others called a tribune of the commons, but whom I have always held to be an enemy.¹ Had the consuls been willing that these motions of mine should be carried by general consent, the mere authority of the senate would long ago have caused their arms to fall from the hands of all these ruffians.

But what was then prohibited, my lords, is now not only lawful, but absolutely necessary, that those who are enemies in fact, should be branded in plain words, and pronounced to be enemies by our votes. On previous occasions, when I used the expressions *enemy* and *war*, the consuls, over and over again, would not allow the question to be put, which in the present instance is impossible. For we are called upon by the despatches of Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, the consuls, and Gaius Cæsar, the pro-prætor, to give our votes about a solemn function at the altars of the gods. The senator who just now proposed a public thanksgiving did unconsciously pronounce that they were enemies; for such a thanksgiving was never appointed in a civil war. 'Appointed,' do I say? It was never even asked for in the despatches of a conqueror. Sulla conducted a civil war as consul; he brought his legions into the city; he banished whom he would, and whom he could he slew; but there was no mention of a public thanksgiving. The serious war with Octavius ensued; no public thanksgiving was voted in honour of the victory of Cinna. This victory of Cinna was arranged by Sulla as imperator; no public thanksgiving was decreed by the senate. I ask you, Publius Servilius, did you yourself ever receive any despatches from your colleague about that most disastrous battle of Pharsalia? Did he wish you to consult the senate about a public thanksgiving? I feel certain he did not. He sent you despatches about the taking of Alexandria and the defeat of Pharnaces; but for the battle of Pharsalia he did not even celebrate a triumph. For in that battle citizens had

8.

¹ The reading in this sentence is hopelessly corrupt.

fallen, who might not only have lived, but have been victorious without endangering the safety and prosperity of the state. And the same thing had happened in the earlier civil wars. For when I was consul, a public thanksgiving was appointed, indeed, in my honour, though we had never had recourse to arms; but this was by a new and unprecedented form of decree, and not because enemies had been slain, but because citizens had been preserved. And therefore, you must either refuse a public thanksgiving in honour of our generals, when they are asking for it after a most brilliant campaign, which has never been done in the case of anyone except Aulus Gabinius, or by appointing a public thanksgiving you must pronounce that they are enemies for whose defeat it is decreed.

9. And so what Servilius does by his action I do by my words, when I give the title of 'imperator' to our generals; for by this very expression, in calling the conquerors 'imperators,' I denounce as enemies both those who have been beaten and those who still remain. For what title can I more appropriately apply to Pansa, even though as consul he has a title of the highest dignity? What title is more suitable to Hirtius? He is indeed consul, but the one title marks the favour of the Roman people, the other his own valour and his victory. Or again, should I hesitate to give the name of imperator to Cæsar, born by the grace of heaven for the service for the state? to him, who was the first to avert the foul and savage cruelty of Antonius, not only from our throats, but from further tortures to our limbs and flesh. What great and manifold virtues, O ye gods, did that one day bring forth! For Pansa was the first of all to set the example of joining battle in conflict with Antonius, a general worthy of the Martian legion, a legion worthy of its general. Had Pansa been able to restrain its fierce impetuosity, the whole matter would have been finished in a single battle. But when the legion, greedy for liberty, had charged with uncontrollable violence against the enemy's line, with Pansa himself fighting in the forefront,

having received two dangerous wounds, he was carried out of the battle to preserve his life for the republic. I, indeed, consider him not only an *imperator*, but an *imperator* of the highest type; for having pledged himself to satisfy the republic, either by his victory or his life, he has achieved the victory, and we can only pray that heaven may spare his life.

What shall I say of Hirtius, who, when he heard of the engagement, led two legions out from the camp with marvellous zeal and bravery, the fourth, which from the outset had left Antonius to join the Martian legion, and the seventh consisting entirely of veterans, so as to show in this battle that the name of the senate and the Roman people was dear to those who had taken care of Cæsar's grants? With these twenty cohorts, without cavalry, Hirtius, carrying himself the eagle of the fourth legion, with the noblest type of devotion that we have ever known in any general, engaged with the three legions and the cavalry of Antonius, with such effect that the impious enemies who were threatening this temple of Jupiter the good and great, and the other temples of the gods, together with the buildings of the city, the freedom of the Roman people, and our lives and persons, were crushed, routed, and put to the sword, so that the chief and leader of the brigands was forced to fly in panic, under shelter of the night, with a very few companions. What supreme happiness for the sun itself, which, ere it set, beheld the corpses of the murderers strewn upon the plain, and Antonius the fugitive leader of a scanty troop! But will anyone hesitate to call Cæsar *imperator*? His age will surely not deter anyone from such a vote, since in his valour he has surpassed his age. And to me, indeed, the services of Gaius Cæsar have always appeared the greater, in proportion as they were the less to be expected from his years; for when we gave him the authority of a general, we made himself also responsible for the expectations which such a term implies; and in fulfilling these he has justified our decree by his achievements. Accordingly, this youth of vast soul,

10.

as Hirtius so truly describes him, with a few cohorts, defended a camp which was constructed for many legions, and brought a battle to a successful issue. And so, by the valour, skill, and good fortune of three *im-perators*, the republic was preserved in many places on a single day.

11. I therefore propose, in the name of the three, a public thanksgiving for fifty days, the reasons for which I will embrace in the vote itself, in the most honourable terms that I can find. It is due, moreover, to our honour and our natural feeling, to show our grateful appreciation of the surpassing valour of our soldiers. And therefore, I move that our promises, including the rewards which we promised to the legions on the completion of the war, should be renewed to-day by a decree of the senate; for it is fair that soldiers, especially soldiers such as these, should be associated in their distinctions with their generals. And I would, my lords, that we might give rewards to all the citizens; at any rate, we will take care to pay with interest all that we have promised. But that remains, as I hope, for the conquerors, to whom the senate's plighted word will be fulfilled. They were loyal to it at a most critical juncture for the state, and we should therefore never give them reason to repent of their resolve. But it is easy to deal with these, who seem to call for our gratitude before they say a word. What is nobler and more worthy of admiration, and more especially the duty of a wise senate, is to show a grateful sense of the merits of those who shed their life-blood for their country. Would that I could call to mind more instances of their glorious deeds! Two I cannot possibly pass over, which especially occur to me, of which the one will contribute to the immortal glory of these gallant men; the other may help to soothe the distress and mourning of their relatives.

12. It is my desire, therefore, my lords, that the noblest possible monument should be raised to the soldiers of the Martian legion, and to those who have fallen fighting by its side. Great, and even past belief, are the

services of this legion to the state. It was the first to break off from the brigandage of Antonius, it occupied Alba, it joined the standard of Cæsar: it was by following the example which this legion set that the fourth has gained an equal glory by its bravery. The fourth is victorious without the loss of even a single man: of the Martian some few fell in the moment of victory. O happy death, in which the debt which nature claims is paid for fatherland, rather than in any other way! You I indeed consider to have been born for your country: your very name is derived from Mars, so that it may seem that the same god who founded this city to be mistress of the world, called you into existence as its saviours. As death in flight is shameful, so in victory it is glorious: for Mars himself is wont to pick out as his own the bravest on the field of battle. And so those impious men whom you have slain will pay the penalty of their treason even in the shades below; but you who have expended your latest breath in winning victory, have earned a place in the mansions of the pious. Short is the life that has been given you by nature, but the memory of a life surrendered nobly is imperishable. If it were not longer than this life, who would be so mad as to win his way to the summit of praise and glory through the extremity of toil and peril? Nobly, then, has Heaven treated you, most gallant soldiers while ye lived, but now most holy too, inasmuch as your prowess cannot be buried in obscurity, either through the forgetfulness of the present generation, or by the silence of posterity; seeing that almost with their own hands the senate and the Roman people have raised to you an everlasting monument. There have been repeatedly many noble armies in the Punic, Gallic, and Italian wars, but yet to none of them has any honour of the kind been paid. And would that more were in our power, since we have received from you the most that you could give! You drove Antonius in his madness from the city: you have frustrated all his efforts to return. There shall therefore be erected in your honour a monument of most splendid workmanship, with an

inscription which shall bear imperishable witness to your superhuman valour, and never will those, who either see or hear of your memorial, forget to talk in grateful terms of what you did. And thus, at the price of a life which was ephemeral, you have purchased immortality.

13.

But since, my lords, the meed of fame is paid to the best and bravest of citizens by the honour of a monument, let us console their relatives, to whom, indeed, there is no nobler consolation than this: to the parents, that they have produced such bulwarks to the state; to the children, that they will have such models of valour in their families; to the wives, that the husbands whom they have lost will call for praises rather than for tears; to their brothers, that they will trust that the resemblance in their bodies is not lacking in their virtues. And I would that we could wipe away the tears from all their eyes by any resolutions or decrees which we could pass, or that any speech could be addressed to them in public of such a kind as to make them lay aside their mourning and distress, and rather rejoice that, amid all the various kinds of death to which mankind is liable, their friends encountered that which is most glorious. They are not unburied or abandoned (though even that is not considered a piteous fate when encountered in the cause of fatherland), they are not burnt with lowly rites by scattered graves, but they are buried by the state with public obsequies beneath a monument which shall be an altar of valour for all succeeding generations. Wherefore it will be the greatest comfort to the relatives that the same monument should record the valour of their friends, the pious tribute of the Roman people, the good faith of the senate, and the memory of a most cruel war; in which, had the soldiers shown any less degree of bravery, the very name of the Roman people must have perished through the treason of Marcus Antonius. And I further move, my lords, that all the rewards which we promised to bestow upon the soldiers when the republic should be re-established, should, now that the time has come, be paid with interest, to those of the victors

who survive; and whereas some of those to whom the promises were made have fallen in their country's cause, I propose that what is due to them should be paid to their parents, children, wives, and brethren.

But to sum up in a formal vote what I have urged, I move the following resolution:—Whereas Gaius Pansa, consul, imperator, has made a beginning of fighting with the enemy, in a battle in which the Martian legion has defended the liberty of the Roman people with marvellous and incredible valour, their example being followed by the legions of recruits; and whereas Gaius Pansa himself, consul and imperator, has received wounds, while fighting amid the very weapons of the enemy; and whereas Aulus Hirtius, consul, imperator, on hearing of the battle, and understanding what was going on, with the utmost gallantry and courage led his army forth from the camp, and made an attack on Marcus Antonius and the army of the enemy, and made a great slaughter of their troops, with so little damage to his own army that he has not lost a single man; and whereas Gaius Cæsar, pro-prætor, imperator, by his skill and diligence has successfully defended his camp, and repulsed with great loss the forces of the enemy which had approached it: on this account the senate considers and declares that by the valour, generalship, skill, influence, perseverance, magnanimity, and good fortune of these three 'imperatores' the Roman people has been freed from the foulest and most cruel slavery. And whereas they have preserved the state, the city, the temples of the immortal gods, with the goods and fortunes and children of all the citizens, by personally taking part in the battle at the peril of their lives, the senate decrees that on account of these achievements, which have been nobly, bravely, and successfully accomplished, Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, consuls, imperators, one or both of them, or in their absence Marcus Cornutus, city prætor, shall arrange a public thanksgiving at all the shrines for fifty days; and whereas the valour of the legions has proved itself worthy of such noble generals, the senate, now that the republic is re-

14.

established, will carry out with the utmost cordiality all the promises which it has previously made to our legions and armies; and whereas the Martian legion has taken the lead in engaging with the enemy, and has fought against superior numbers with such success as to kill many, with some loss themselves; and whereas the soldiers have laid down their lives for their country without any hesitation; and whereas the soldiers of the other legions have exposed their lives with equal bravery on behalf of the safety and the liberty of the Roman people, it is the pleasure of the senate that Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius, consuls and imperators, one or both of them, shall, if they think fit, take steps to issue a contract for the erection of a monument of the most splendid description, in honour of those who have poured forth their lifeblood in defence of the life, liberty, and fortunes of the Roman people, for the city and the temples of the immortal gods; and that they order the city quæstors to give, assign, and pay the money needed for the purpose, that the crimes of our cruel foes, and the godlike valour of our soldiers, may be recorded for the information of all succeeding generations; and that the rewards which the senate previously appointed for the soldiers, in the case of those who have fallen in the war in defence of their fatherland, shall be paid to their parents, children, wives, and brothers, and that the same rewards be given to them which ought to have been given to the soldiers themselves, if those who conquered by their deaths had gained the victory in their lives.



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	PAGE
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(*For Specimen see page 28.*)

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XVI.

FREE GOVERNMENT.—ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT.—TYRANNY.—
DESPOTISM.—ANARCHY.

A FREE government is not a government in which liberty prevails, or in which there is an absence of inconvenient restraints and oppression on the part of the sovereign power; but a government in which there is a plurality of rulers, and fixed laws respected by the administrative authority.* A free government is thus opposed to an arbitrary or despotic government, such as the Roman, French, or Austrian empires. In this sense, Hume¹ opposes free states to absolute monarchies, and Rousseau speaks of 'the difference between *free* and *monarchical* states';² *i.e.* between states where the sovereignty belongs

¹ 'The provinces of absolute monarchies are always better treated than those of free states.' Part i. Essay 3.

² *Contrat Social*, liv. iii. ch. 8. According to Sir James Mackintosh, 'as general security is enjoyed in very different degrees under different governments, those which guard it most perfectly, are by way of eminence called *free*. Such governments attain most completely the end which is common to all governments. A free constitution of government, and a good constitution of government, are therefore different expressions for the same idea.' *On the Law of Nature and Nations*, p. 60. However, one who thought with Hobbes that absolute monarchy is the best form of government, would probably not call *that* a free constitution. On the difference between free and despotic governments, see likewise Bentham's *Fragment on Government*, p. 113.*

* *Fixed laws respected by the administrative authority.* This condition is not recognised by Austin. Sir James FitzJames Stephen (*Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity*, p. 171), goes so far as to declare that 'democracy has, as such, no definite or assignable relation to liberty;' but this can hardly be admitted, for the reason given by Mr. James Mill in the passage quoted above (p. 100), which is almost conclusive for this purpose, though justly criticised by Sir G.

C. Lewis on other grounds. An absolute despot will naturally put down whatever displeases him; a more numerous body are pretty sure to present variety in their likes and dislikes, so that the practices which they will agree to suppress or enforce, will, *ceteris paribus*, be comparatively few. It is true on the other side that the despot may be indifferent to practices very hateful to the majority, but which do not touch him personally.—W.

* And Austin's 6th Lecture (*Student's Austin*, p. 112). He says: 'They who distin-

CHAPTER V.

Of the real and nominal price of Commodities, or of their price in Labour, and their price in Money.

EVERY MAN IS RICH OR POOR ACCORDING TO THE DEGREE IN WHICH HE CAN AFFORD TO ENJOY THE NECESSARIES, CONVENIENCES, AND AMUSEMENTS OF LIFE; only a small part of which can be supplied by a man's own labour; the greater part must be derived from the labour of other people, and which he must purchase; hence labour is the real measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities, p. 30.

*The real price of everything is the toil and trouble of acquiring it.*¹ What is bought with money is purchased by labour, as much as what we acquire by the toil of our own body. The money saves us the toil, and contains the value of a certain quantity of labour. *Labour* was the *first* price, the *original purchase money*, that was paid for all things: by it all the wealth of the world was purchased, and its value is equal to the quantity of labour which it can command, p. 31.

'**WEALTH,**' as Hobbes says, '**IS POWER,**'² *i.e.*, it may afford a man the *means* of acquiring power, by giving him the command of other men's labour; and his fortune is greater or less according to the quantity of other men's labour which it enables him to command, p. 31.

Though labour be the **real measure** of the exchange-

¹ Adam Smith does not make any distinction here between value and price. Modern economists regard the latter as a particular case of the former. Observe that the toil and trouble of the acquirer may have been less than the toil and trouble of the producer. Value may be defined as 'The ratio in which commodities are exchanged against each other in the open market.' (Cairnes.) Therefore there can be no such thing as a general rise or fall in values.

² *Leviathan*, Part I. cap. x.

ESTATES IN REMAINDER.

41

Rules for the creation of valid remainders.

1. There must be some particular estate precedent to the estate in remainder, (or)

Every estate in remainder requires a particular estate to support it.

2. The remainder must commence or pass out of the grantor at the time of the creation of the particular estate.

3. The remainder must vest in the grantee during the continuance of the particular estate, or eo instanti that it determines.

[These rules are based upon the feudal principle that an estate of freehold cannot be created to commence in futuro, but ought to take effect at once either in possession or remainder. The whole estate—i.e. the particular estate and the remainders—passes from the grantor to the grantees by the livery of seisin.

The above rules also imply another, that the feudal seisin must never be without an owner; thus in the case of a grant to A, for twenty years and one year after the end of such term to B, in fee, the remainder would be void on account of the feudal seisin reverting to the grantor after A's term.]

Remainders are also divided into—

I. Vested and II. Contingent.**Vested remainder. Definition.**

I. 'If an estate, be it ever so small, be always ready from its commencement to its end to come into possession the moment the prior estates happen to determine, it is then termed a vested remainder.'—Will. R. P. p. 245, 10th ed.

II. A contingent remainder is a future estate which waits for and depends on the termination of the estates

26 *Chief Real Property Statutes.*

1856.
19 & 20 Vict.
c. 106, s. 50.

If the term of a tenant has determined, and the tenant refuses to deliver up possession, the landlord may enter a plaint in the County Court for recovery of possession. This is limited to cases where the rent does not exceed 50*l.* per annum. Ste. 296.

19 & 20 Vict.
c. 120.

An Act to facilitate leases and Sales of settled estates.
[21 & 22 Vict. c. 77.]

(2) Chancery in certain cases authorized to permit leases for certain long terms, for agricultural, mining, and other purposes.

(5) Any lease granted under the Act may be surrendered to be renewed.

(11) The Court may authorize the sale of settled estates and the timber thereon.

(32) Any person entitled to the possession of an estate for life under a settlement may demise the same for any term not exceeding twenty-one years, under certain conditions. Tenants by the courtesy and in dower may demise for twenty-one years. Ste. 252, 253, 263, 266, 279, 288, 478.

1858.
21 & 22 Vict.
c. 77.

Act to amend the Settled Estates Act, 1856. Ste. 479.

21 & 22 Vict.
c. 94.

An Act to amend the Copyhold Acts. Ste. 224, 630, 642, 645.

1859.
22 & 23 Vict.
c. 35.

An Act to further amend the law of Property.

(1) A licence given to any lessee or assignee to extend only to the permission actually given.

(2) Restricted operation of partial licences.

(3) Assignee of part of reversion to have the

CONTRACTS MADE 'LITERIS.'

49

2. 'A persona in personam transcriptio.'

When the sum which Titius owes me is entered in my journal as advanced to you (this substitution being of course made at the suggestion of Titius).

According to Theophilus the 'nomen transcriptitium' always effected a novation: 'Prior obligatio extinguebatur; nova autem, id est litterarum, nascebatur,' but the case related by Val. Maximus, viii. 2. 2, goes to prove that this was not always the case.

Gaius tells us that it was questioned whether aliens were bound by this contract or not, because such an obligation belonged to the civil law.

Sabinus and Cassius held that in the case of a 'transcriptio a re in personam' even aliens were bound.

'These literal contracts . . . seem never to have had any great importance. They remained in use for the mutual transactions of the "argentarii" (or brokers), long after they had become obsolete for other persons. But before the time of Justinian they had disappeared altogether. In the Corpus Juris there is no literal contract, properly so called, no use of writing as the formal ground of an obligation. That some formal ground was necessary, that a mere informal agreement of two persons was not sufficient to establish a full legal obligation, was the general principle of the Roman law, though subject to some ancient and important exceptions.'—Hadley's 'Introduction to Roman Law,' pp. 216, 217.

In the Literal or Written Contract, the formal act by which an obligation was superinduced on the convention, was an entry of the sum due, where it could be specifically ascertained, on the debit side of a ledger. The explanation of this contract turns on a point of Roman domestic manners, the systematic character and exceeding regularity of book-keeping in ancient times. There are several minor difficulties of old Roman Law, as, for example, the nature of the Slave's Peculium, which are only

4. Write out in full :—

Imper. mood of <i>fero</i> .	Imper. mood of εἶμι.
Imperf. subj. of <i>pator</i> .	Pres. opt. pass. of σιγάω.
Perf. indic. of <i>absum</i> .	1st aor. imper. mid. of σημαίνω
Fut. perf. of <i>proficiscor</i> .	Fut. ind. act. of μένω.
Pres. subj. of <i>dignor</i> .	Paulo-post fut. of λέγω.

5. Give instances in both Greek and Latin of *De demonstrative, Interrogative, Possessive, and Reflexive* Pronouns; and give the meaning of *quidam, quisquam, quis quis, quisque, quis*; and of πόσος, ποῖος, πότερος, τόσος οἶος, ὅσος, ὅστις.

6. Illustrate by examples the cases governed by *donc*. *gaudeo, credo, doceo, obliviscor*,—τυγχάνω, ἔπομαι, ποιῶ ἀκούω, ἔχω.

7. What is meant by *ablative absolute, apposition, attraction, contraction, cognate accusative*?

8. Illustrate by examples the meaning of, and cases governed by, *ante, circa, ab, super, prae*,—ἐπὶ, ἀντί, μετά, ἀπό, πρός.

9. Distinguish—

<i>si velit, si vellet.</i>	ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ, αὐτὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ.
<i>ejus caput, suum caput.</i>	ἄλλα, ἀλλέ.
<i>metuit te, metuit tibi.</i>	ἦ, ἦ, ἦ ἦ.
<i>nobis interest, nostrā interest.</i>	ἔστησε, ἔστηκε.
<i>amatum iri, amandum esse.</i>	ἵνα βλέψῃς, ἵνα βλέψῃς.

10. Translate into Latin :—

(a) He said he would come whenever he was wanted

(b) He said, I will come whenever I am wanted.

(c) He sold the house for as much as he expected.

(d) He exhorted his soldiers not to lose the opportunity of freeing their country.

(e) The first Consuls were elected at Rome in the two hundred and forty-fifth year after the building of the city.

4

Examination Papers.

4. 'The principal cause of phonetic degeneracy in language is when people shrink from the effort of articulating each consonant and vowel.'

Are there any phenomena of phonetic change which cannot be fully explained in this way?

5. Apply the principles of comparative philology to an examination of the following words:—*ἄρκτος, βάραρος, γίγνομαι, δαήρ, δέσποινα, εἰμί, ἥλιος, ἥπαρ, ἵππος, οἶρα, ὀστέον, πίπτω, ποῖος, ὕβρις, ὕπνος.*

6. Trace the decay of the Latin diphthongs.

7. Explain the various ways in which the perfect tense is formed in Latin. Illustrate from Greek.

8. By what arguments has the existence of the diamma been established? In what authors are traces of its use to be found?

No. XIII.

1. What is the locative case?

2. Analyse the forms *amaverimus, lapidum, alicubi*.

3. Explain the formation of *calumniā, conviciū, trachuma, facilius, sepulcrum, stolidus, Vertumnus, uctumnus*.

4. Give some account of the formation of adverbs.

5. Explain, with instances, Anacoluthon, Zeugma, Leonasm, Irony.

6. Translate the following sentences, so as to show the meanings of the middle voice:—

(1) *πᾶν σοι φράσω τὰληθῆς οὐδὲ κρυφιομαι.*

(2) *καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐδίκασε, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐδικαζόμεθα· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπεψήφισε, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐψηφίζόμεθα· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔλεξε ἡμεῖς δὲ διελεγόμεθα.*

100 *Historical and General Questions.*

2. Trace the establishment of the Roman rule over Italy, *or* over Spain, Gaul, and England.

3. What was the nature and value of the influence of the Papacy when at its height?

4. Estimate the importance in European history of the Edict of Nantes and its Revocation.

5. What changes in the boundaries of European states would be introduced by adopting the principle of Nationalities?

6. What do you know of any *three* of the following : —Themistocles, Demosthenes the Orator, Pyrrhus the Epirot, Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator, Herod the Great, Agricola, Charlemagne, Hildebrand, Francis Bacon, Grotius, Burke?

7. Sketch briefly, fixing as many dates as you can, any *two* of the following :

(a) The Wars between Greece and Persia.

(b) The Crusades.

(c) The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as an age of discovery.

(d) The Thirty Years' War.

(e) The French Revolution and the First Empire.

CXX.

1. Trace the territorial increase of Prussia, since it became a kingdom. What are its claims, apart from the sword, to the first place in Germany?

2. 'It is the tendency of every nation to depreciate the share of its allies in any common achievement.' Illustrate from the military history of Rome and of England.

3. The most effective national boundaries under various conditions of civilisation.

Arithmetical.

4. A bankrupt pays 5*s.* 9*d.* in the pound ; if his assets were 500*l.* more, he would pay 6*s.* 5*d.* : what are his assets and his debts ?

5. Find the present worth of 122*l.* 16*s.* due 7 months hence at 4 per cent.

6. Potatoes are bought at 10½*d.* the stone, and have to pay a duty of 1*l.* the ton ; if they are sold at 1½*d.* the lb., what is the profit per cent. ?

7. Find the compound interest on 5000*l.* for 4 years at 5 per cent.

8. Find the value of 3840 articles at 19*s.* 11¼*d.* each. Three purchasers divide them in the proportion of 3, 4, 5 : what will each pay ?

9. Extract the square root of '196, 3⅔ — 1⅘.

10. I sell out 12500*l.* from the Three per Cents. at 96 ; I invest one-third of the proceeds in Egyptian Six per Cent. Bonds at 125, and the remainder in land which yields 2¼ per cent. net. What is my difference in income ?

11. What quantity of Turkey carpet is required for a room 20 feet 4 inches long, and 18 feet 8 inches broad, allowing a margin of 2 feet 8 inches all round ? Find also the number of tiles each 8 inches by 4 which will be needed to fill this margin.

 XXVII.

1. Find by Practice the cost of 4 cwt. 2 qrs. 12 lbs. at 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per quarter.

2. Reduce ⅔ of 1*d.* to the fraction of 17*s.* 6*d.* ; and find what fraction 6 oz. 15 dwt. is of a lb. Troy.

3. Simplify :

$$(1) \frac{7}{1 - \frac{2}{\frac{3}{4}}} ; \quad (2) \left\{ \frac{3\frac{1}{2}}{7} + \frac{2}{10\frac{1}{2}} - \left(\frac{5}{18} \text{ of } \frac{4}{7} \right) \right\} + \frac{4}{7}$$

the Law of Real Property.

10. 'So that, in process of time, copyhold tenure must disappear from our present modes of holding land.' Explain this historically.

Ste. 645. Williams 356-358.

11. Trace and account for the gradual conversion of strictly servile occupation into certain and heritable tenure.

Ste. 214 *et seq.* Williams R. P. 336-339. Digby 41 *et seq.*, 109, 213-222.

CHAPTER XVIII.

INCORPOREAL HEREDITAMENTS.

(Stephen's 'Commentaries,' 647-693, 7th ed.; 666-712, 6th ed.)

1. Distinguish carefully between a corporeal and incorporeal hereditament, and comment on the principle adopted as the basis of division.

Ste. 647. Austin 372, 708. Williams 10. Digby 229.

2. 'In the transfer of incorporeal property, when alone and self-existent, formerly lay the distinction between it and corporeal property.' Explain this.

Williams 11, 231. Ste. 511. Digby 128, 331 (7), 328 (4).

3. Define an easement, and distinguish easements from profits. Is a right to draw off water from a well in *alieno solo* a profit or an easement?

Ste. 648. *Race v. Ward*, 4 Ell. and Bl. 702. Goddard on 'Easements' 1, 2. Digby 127.

4. Sketch the history, and give an outline of the leading principles, of the law relating to rights of common.

Digby 134-137. Ste. 649-657. Lord Hatherley in *Warrick v. Queen's College*, L. R. 6 Chan. App. 720. Maine's 'Village Communities' 85 *et seq.* Elton's 'Law of Commons' ch.

The Old Testament.

67

Enhakkore (*Spring of the crier*), where God provided Samson with water from the jawbone of an ass.

Gilgal (*Rolling*), where Joshua circumcised the second time the children of Israel.

‘And the Lord said unto Joshua, This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you. Wherefore the name of the place is called Gilgal unto this day.’

Helkath-Nazzarim (*The field of the strong men*), where twelve men of Judah encountered twelve men of Benjamin, and none of either party survived. This event was the prelude to a battle in which Joab and the men of Judah defeated Abner.

Jehovah-jireh (*God will provide*), the scene of Abraham’s meditated sacrifice of Isaac.

‘My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering.’

Jehovah-nissi (*Jehovah my banner*), an altar built by Moses to commemorate the defeat of the Amalekites by Joshua at Rephidim.

Jehovah-shalom (*Jehovah is peace*), an altar built by Gideon when he received the divine call in Ophrah.

‘And the Lord said unto him, Peace be unto thee ; fear not : thou shalt not die.’

Mahanaim (*Two hosts*), where Jacob met a host of angels on his return from Padan-aram.

‘And when Jacob saw them, he said, This is God’s host ; and he called the name of that place Mahanaim.’

Peniel or Penuel (*The face of God*), where Jacob wrestled with an angel.

‘And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel ; for I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved.’

Perez-Uzzah (*The disaster of Uzzah*), where Uzzah was struck dead on touching the ark of God which David was removing to Jerusalem.

Many halting-places of the Israelites had names conferred on them by Moses to commemorate particular events : such were Marah *bitter*, Massah *temptation*, Meribah *strife*, Taberah *burning*, Kibroth Hattaavah *graves of lust*, Hormah *utter destruction*.

Questions and Exercises

2. How comes it that a 'country can support in comfort a population many times larger than it could formerly support in comparative discomfort? and how does the fact affect the alleged 'tendency' of population to outrun the means of subsistence?

Explain carefully the ambiguity attaching to the word 'tendency' as here employed.

The word 'tendency' in the phrase 'tendency towards a certain result' may signify—

1. 'The existence of a cause which, if operating unimpeded, would produce that result' (e.g. in this sense a man has a greater 'tendency' to fall prostrate than to stand erect).

2. 'The existence of such a state of things that that result may be expected to take place.' (In this sense man has a greater tendency to stand erect than to fall prostrate.)

In sense 1, Population has a 'tendency' to increase beyond subsistence; i.e. There are in man propensities which, if unrestrained, lead to this result.

In sense 2, Subsistence has (in the progress of society) a 'tendency' to increase at a greater rate than population; or, at least, with a continually *diminishing inferiority*.—See *Whately*, Lectures on Political Economy, ix. 248–250.

3. Cheap labour makes cheap food; cheap food stimulates population; the increase of population makes labour still cheaper—where are we to stop?

F. 174. M. ii. 15. 7.

4. What would be the general results in the following cases :—

(1) Capital and population remain stationary, and a sudden improvement takes place in the arts of production?

(2) Population rapidly increases while capital and the arts of production remain stationary?

(1) M. iv. 3. 4. (2) M. iv. 3. 1.

B.C. 220] OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

3

endeared himself both to the soldiers and the general, and, on Hasdrubal's death, was unanimously elected to the chief command.¹

4. **Hannibal's character.** Fearless, yet prudent in danger; powerful in body and active in mind; careful of his soldiers, and strict in discipline, Hannibal possessed all the qualities of a great commander. He was moderate, nay abstemious in his bodily habits, modest in dress, and only conspicuous for his arms and horses. By sharing every danger with the meanest soldier, he endeared himself to his men: and he was always the first to enter the fight, and the last to leave it. Livy is rather liberal to him on the score of vices: here they are—*inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica,*² *nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum jusjurandum, nulla religio*—no conscience at all.

5. **WAR BEGINS IN SPAIN, B.C. 220.**—Hannibal, with a view of causing the Romans to take up arms, determines to attack the Saguntines—a people by treaty³ independent both of

¹ *Prærogativam militarem.*] The tribe which voted first in a Roman election was called *prærogativa* (*præ* and *rogo*) and it generally carried the votes of the tribes which followed it; for it was chosen by lot, and the lot was supposed to be under the especial care of the gods. On the whole subject of *Comitia*, vide *Dictionary of Antiquities*, s. v.

² *Punica fides.*] A proverbial expression among the Romans for 'bad faith.' They were not much better than the Carthaginians themselves. With regard also to the charge of cruelty, Livy does not bring forward throughout his book a sufficient number of instances to justify it: and though Hannibal is charged in the same way by other historians, it is very doubtful if their accounts are authentic. Livy does not call the treacherous massacre of 2,000 Capuans by Marcellus cruel!

³ For an account of this treaty, see p. 9, note.

‘e cetero senatu’—to remedy the existing anomalies in the law; and this commission was ‘modicum in præsens levamentum.’]

29. Nero, one of the sons of Germanicus, now entering on manhood, was commended to the Senate by Tiberius; who obtained for him relief from the vigintiviratus,¹ and that he should be a candidate for the prætorship five years before the legal period: ‘non sine irrisu audientium.’ ‘Additur Pontificatus.’ He was soon after married to Julia, daughter of Drusus, an event which gave as much joy as the engagement of Sejanus’ daughter to the son of Claudius did displeasure.

Honours of
Nero, son of
Germanicus.

30. L. Volusius and C. Sallustius Crispus died at the end of the year. The first, of an old family, but never hitherto ‘præturam egressa,’ had lent honour to it by having been Consul and one of the Triumvirate ‘legendis equitum decuriis.’² The second, a grand-nephew of the historian, by whom he had been adopted, was of an equestrian family; and though well able to have attained the highest honours, had preferred to imitate Mæcenâs, and ‘sine dignitate Senatoriâ multos triumphalium consulariumque potentia anteire.’ He was a man of great ability, and after the death of Mæcenâs was ‘præcipuus cui secreta imperatorum inniterentur,’—e.g. he was ‘interficiendi Postumi Agrippæ conscius.’

Sallustius
Crispus.

A.D. 21.
31.
Corbulo and
Sulla.

Tiberius IV. Drusus II. Consul, ‘patrisque atque filii collegio annus insignis.’ Tiberius retreated to Campania.³ Drusus found an opportunity of gaining popularity by composing the quarrel between Domitius Corbulo, ‘præturâ

¹ The Vigintiviratus was a kind of Police-board, which had charge of the mint, of the mending of streets, of crimes ending in mortal violence, &c.

² This power, ‘recognoscendi turmas equitum,’ was transferred by Augustus to a Triumviratus.

³ Tacitus says—‘Longam et continuam absentiam paulatim meditans, sive ut amoto patre Drusus munia consulatûs solus impleret.’

and the other less, erroneous : and, therefore, since to hit exactly on the mean is difficult, one must take the least of the evils as the safest plan ;¹ and this a man will be doing if he follows this method.

We ought also to take into consideration our own natural bias ; which varies in each man's case and will be ascertained from the pleasure and pain arising in us. Furthermore, we should force ourselves off in the contrary direction, because we shall find ourselves in the mean after we have removed ourselves far from the wrong side, exactly as men do in straightening bent timber.²

Natural
bias to be
taken into
account.

But in all cases we must guard most carefully against what is pleasant, and pleasure itself because we are not impartial judges of it.

And espe-
cially the
universal
bias towards
pleasure.

We ought to feel in fact towards pleasure as did the old counsellors towards Helen, and in all cases pronounce a similar sentence : for so by sending it away from us we shall err the less.³

Well, to speak very briefly, these are the precautions by adopting which we shall be best able to attain the mean.

¹ ' Δεύτερος πλοῦς is a proverb,' says the Scholiast on the Phædo, ' used of those who do any thing safely and cautiously, inasmuch as they who have miscarried in their first voyage, set about their preparations for the second cautiously ;' and he then alludes to this passage.

² That is, you must allow for the *recoil*.

' Naturam expellas furca tamen usque recurret.'

³ This illustration sets in so clear a light the doctrines entertained respectively by Aristotle, Eudoxus, and the Stoics, regarding pleasure, that it is worth while to go into it fully.

The reference is to Iliad iii. 154-160. The old counsellors, as Helen comes upon the city wall, acknowledge her surpassing beauty, and have no difficulty in understanding how both nations should have incurred such suffering for her sake : still, fair as she is, home she must go that she bring not ruin on themselves and their posterity.

This exactly represents Aristotle's relation to Pleasure : he does not, with Eudoxus and his followers, exalt it into the Summum Bonum (as Paris would risk all for Helen), nor does he with the Stoics call it wholly evil (as Hector might have said that the woes Helen had caused had ' banished all the beauty from her cheek '), but, with the aged counsellors, admits its charms, but aware of their dangerousness resolves to deny himself ; he ' Feels her sweetness, yet defies her thrall.'

evidence, all subordinate to them by means of others), whenever we try to show on its own evidence that which is not self-evident, then we beg the question. . . .

Prior Analytics II. 23, §§ 1-4.

65. How then terms are related to one another, in respect of conversions, and the being more eligible or more to be avoided, is manifest. We ought now to state that not only are demonstrative and dialectical syllogisms formed by the figures described above, but rhetorical syllogisms also, and generally speaking all belief whatever, and belief arrived at by whatever method. For we arrive at all our beliefs either by syllogism or from induction.

Induction then, and the inductive syllogism, is to prove the major term of the middle¹ by means of the minor; for instance, if B is the middle of the terms during Cæsar's absence at Alexandria, and without his

¹ The *middle term* in this description seems to mean the term which is such in extent. The major is the most general of the three, and is proved of the middle by examining the minor, which consists of all the individuals that compose the middle. We must make sure whether our minor term does include all the individuals of the middle—*ἐὶ ἀντιστρέφει τὸ Γ τῷ Β καὶ μὴ ἀνεστρέφει τὸ μέσον*—if we are to have a valid *induction*, as Aristotle understands the word. It is clear that such an induction can easily be put into syllogistic form:—

All men, horses, and mules are long-lived,

All the gall-less animals are men, horses, and mules;

∴ All gall-less animals are long-lived.

Many logicians regard this induction as the only perfect type; but Mill's idea of induction is not the same as Aristotle's: he examines *some* of the individuals composing the middle, and endeavours to lay down canons, which will enable us rightly to infer the 'major of the middle by the minor,' though it is not so convertible with the middle—is only a part of the middle.

knowledge, he was appointed master of the horse through the influence of the dictator's friends. Then he considered that in virtue of his office he might fairly live with Hippias,¹ and give the tribute horses to the *mimic* actor Sergius. At that time he had selected as his place of residence, not the house which he has at present such difficulty in retaining, but that of Marcus Piso. But why should I dwell upon his decrees, his robberies, the inheritances which he gave to his adherents, or seized from their lawful owners? It was want of money which compelled him; he knew not where to turn his steps; he had not yet received his large inheritance from Lucius Rubrius, or Lucius Turselius; he had not yet succeeded as heir with such rapidity to the property of Pompeius and many others who were abroad. His only chance of living was in robber-fashion—to have whatever he could steal.

But all this we may pass over, as betokening a hardier kind of villany: let us speak rather of the most degrading class of his misdemeanours. With your capacious swallow, your vast stomach, your gladiator-like strength of frame, you had consumed such quantities of wine at the marriage-feast of Hippias, that you could not help puking on the following day in the presence of the Roman people. It was a thing to make one blush at hearing it, to say nothing of beholding it. If it had happened to you at supper in the midst of your enormous draughts, who could fail to think it scandalous? But he, in an assembly of the people of Rome, in the midst of public business, being master of the horse, who might not even belch without disgrace, actually filled his own lap and the whole tribunal with the fragments, reeking with wine, of what he had eaten over night. But this he confesses himself to be one of the things of which he is ashamed: let us proceed to his more noble acts.

Cæsar returned from Alexandria, happy in his own

¹ The play on the word Hippias, derived from ἵππος, a horse, is untranslatable.

racæ also undoubtedly have the same origin, especially the Raeti, whom their very country has rendered savage, so that they retain nothing of their ancient [customs]¹ except the sound of their language, and not even that uncorrupted.

Of the passage of the Gauls into Italy we are told this : in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus² at Rome, the supreme government of the Celts,³ who form the third part of Gaul,⁴ was in the hands of the Bituriges ; they gave a king to the Celtic nation.⁵ This was Ambigatus, a man greatly distinguished⁶ by his merit and good fortune both private and public, for in his reign Gaul was so productive both in fruits of the earth and in men that the overflowing population seemed hardly capable of being governed. He being now himself of a great age, and desiring to relieve his kingdom of the too-oppressive multitude, declared that he would send his sister's sons, Bellovesus and Segovesus, two enterprising young men, to whatever settlements the gods should grant⁷ them by augury ; let them encourage⁸ as great a number of men as they pleased to go with them, so that no nation might be able to resist them in their progress. Then the Hercynian forests⁹ were assigned by the lots¹⁰ to Segovesus ; to Bellovesus the gods granted the much more pleasant route into Italy. He

¹ *Eo antiquo [more].*

² *Regnante* : B.C. 616-578, A.U.C. 147-185.

³ See Appendix.

⁴ *Quæ pars Galliae tertia est* : for the grammar, *cf.* p. 40, n. 7 : for the fact, *Caes. B.G. I. i. 1.* : 'Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt Belgæ, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli, appellantur.'

⁵ *Celtico* : *cf.* τὸ Περσικόν, &c.

⁶ *Praepollens* : *cf.* 'praepotente,' last ch.

⁷ *In quas dēdisent sedes* : *i.e.* in eas sedes, quas. *Cf.* i. 38, 'haec de priscais Latinis aut qui ad Latinos defecerant capta oppida,' *xxix.* 6, 'ut mos est qui diu absunt,' *xxxi.* 41, 'caesi captique quos equites ab agmine fugientium interclusere.'

⁸ *Excirent* : p. 39, n. 4. *Qua* : p. 17, n. 2.

⁹ *Hercynii saltus* or 'Hercynia silva' described by Caesar, *B.G.* vi. 25 : it was nine days' journey wide and sixty long. It is now called the Black Forest. *Saltus* is a woody glen, but sometimes, as here, hardly means more than 'forest.'

¹⁰ *Sortibus* : p. 47, n. 8.

TRANSLATION INTO LATIN PROSE.

175

advancing line. Nothing could stop that astonishing infantry. No sudden burst of undisciplined valour, no nervous enthusiasm weakened the stability of their order; their flashing eyes were bent on the dark columns in their front, their measured tread shook the ground, their dreadful volleys swept away the head of every formation, their deafening shouts overpowered the dissonant cries that broke from all parts of the tumultuous crowd as, slowly and with a horrid carnage, it was pushed by the incessant vigour of the attack to the farthest edge of the height. There the French reserve mixed with the struggling multitude, and endeavoured to sustain the fight; but the effort only increased the irremediable confusion; the mighty mass gave way, and like a loosened cliff-went headlong down the steep; the rain flowed after in streams discoloured with blood, and eighteen hundred unwounded men, the remnant of six thousand unconquerable British soldiers, stood triumphant on the fatal hill.

192. To the Earl of Chesterfield.—7th January, 1755.—Seven years, my Lord, have now passed, since I waited in your outward rooms, or was repulsed from your door; during which time I have been pushing on my work through difficulties of which it is useless to complain, and have brought it at last to the verge of publication without one act of assistance, one word of encouragement, or one smile of favour. The shepherd in Virgil grew at last acquainted with love, and found him a native of the rocks. Is not a patron, my Lord, one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and, when he has reached ground

4. It is used in sentences which imply iteration or indefinite frequency.

5. It is the mood of subordinate clauses in Oratio Obliqua.

CONSECUTION OF TENSES, CLAUSES ETC.

1. Primary tenses follow Primary, and Historical follow Historical.

2. The Primary tenses are Present, Future, Perfect
Historical tenses are Pluperfect, Aorist.

N.B. The Perfect Indefinite or Perfect without *have* in Latin is equivalent to the Greek Aorist.

3. The Optative mood in Greek supplies the Historical tenses of the Subjunctive; i.e. all the optative tenses are historical, all the subjunctive primary.

N.B. The three marks of a historical tense in Greek are:
1. Augment; 2. Dual in -ην; 3. Third person sing. and plur. of middle and passive in -ο. Of these marks the optative has the two latter.

4. A wish may be expressed in Greek by pure optative, or with *ὥφελον* etc.; in Latin by *utinam* etc., with subjunctive, or rarely by subjunctive alone.

Conditional Clauses.

The following are the more ordinary types.

I. Possibility, i.e. when the condition is assumed.

εἰ τοῦτο λέγεις, ἀμαρτάνεις } If you say this, you err
Si hoc dicis, erras

εἰ τοῦτο λέγεις, ἀμαρτήσῃ } If you say this, you will err
Si hoc dices, errabis

II. Slight Probability, i.e. when there is a slight reason to expect the fulfilment of the condition.

ἐὰν τοῦτο λέγῃς, ἀμαρτήσῃ } If you say this, you will err
Si hoc dicas, errabis

ἐὰν τοῦτο λέξῃς, ἀμαρτάνεις } If you say this, you err
Si hoc dicas, erras

1



